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Edited by

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PREFATORY NOTE

Irach Jehangir Sorabji Taraporewala considered to be the doyen of Linguistics in India was the Professor of the then Post-Graduate Department of Comparative Philology, Calcutta University from September 1917 to January 1930. Taraporewala succeeded the German Philologist Otto Strauss who had to leave India in the wake of the First World War. Strauss had a short stint in the University. Thus the task of nurturing the Department in its formative years fell on Taraporewala. The University was fortunate to have him as at that time there was no other scholar in India who was better suited for the task. Taraporewala gave the Department its uniqueness by introducing Iranian and Indo-European studies. Since the time of Taraporewala's scenes in linguistic studies have changed both in India and abroad. The Department has been renamed; but the tradition—most powerful moorings of human civilization continues.

This collection of papers is our centennial tribute to the memory of the great savant.

Senate House
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16.3.89

Bhaskar Ray Chaudhuri
Vice-Chancellor,
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EDITOR'S NOTE

Irach Jahangir Sorabji Taraporewala was the "founder" of the Department of Comparative Philology (subsequently renamed Department of Linguistics) in the newly created Post Graduate Faculty of Calcutta University. This, a little belated centennial volume was planned to acknowledge our debt to him and to rededicate ourselves to the task he had set before himself. I sincerely hope that the volume is worthy of the man.

I take this opportunity to thank the eminent scholars, foreign and Indian, who have contributed to this volume for their generous response and cooperation.

I thank our Vice-Chancellor Dr. Bhaskar Ray Chaudhuri, who despite his heavy schedule of work could find time to write the prefatory note.

I thank our Pro-Vice Chancellor Academic Dr. Mrs. Bharati Ray for her active cooperation.

I thank Professor Dilip Kumar Sinha, Pro-Vice-Chancellor for Business Affairs & Finance for making this publication possible. A mathematician of great repute Professor Sinha's keen interest in Linguistics has been a constant source of our inspiration.

I thank Dr. Subhas Chandra Banerjee, Secretary University Colleges of Arts & Commerce for his assistance and advice.

I am thankful to my colleagues in the Department for their unstinted support.

My thanks go to Mr. Saikat Sanyal for checking the proofs and to the staff of the Swapna Printing Works Private Limited for printing a book which is not an easy one.

Whatever merits the book has are entirely due to those who have made this volume possible. For the deficiencies I alone am responsible.

I end this note with the conviction that by paying homage to a great man we rediscover our heritage.

Department of Linguistics
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17.3.1989

S.K.S



Ossetic *čōnuY* 'sledge', Avestan *čanat*

H. W. Bailey

Indagation (philosophical search) into the Iranian word **čānuga-* 'sledge' has led to an assured interpretation of the Avestan *čanat-* of the compound *Yašt* 5. 130 *čanat.čaxra-*, one in a list of epithets to *xšaθra-* 'possessions'.

Ossetic, descendant of the ancient Alan language, has *čōnuγ*, *čōnāγ*, and with voiced initial *dzōnuγ*, *dzōnāγ*, Iron (Eastern dialect) *dzōnīγ*. These forms derive by normal changes from **čānuga-* and **čānaga-*; hence naming the sledge as the 'smoothly rolling car'. The base is then *kan-*, and palatalized *čan-* 'to move smoothly'. An Iranian word of the region north of the Caucasus is often found borrowed in the North (Finno-Ugrian) and the North-East (Turkish) and the South (Caucasus). This occurred also in this word for 'sledge'.

Thus South-western Caucasus Abaza has *ǰānāk* (but the closely related dialect Abkhaz lacks it). The North Caucasus Avar has *čanaγ*, close to the original Alan form. Turkish in *Al-Kāžyārī's* dictionary (Turkish-Arabic) has *čanaq*, and modern Turkish dialects show various forms of that. The Lapp *čyonne*, the intermediate Iranian being now known, represents Iranian **čānaka-* with the later replacement of *-aka-* by *-ē* (as often within Iranian). It had been kept separated from the Turkish *čanaq*.

The Avestan *čanat.čaxra-* 'with smoothly running wheels' has long been uncertain. In *TPS* 1956, 106 I discussed Armenian *čana-parh* 'journey' as a tautologous compound from Parthian (*par-* is the base 'to depart'). But at that time I could compare only Iranian *čand-* 'to move, shake' and assume an increment *-d-*.

A proposal to change *čana-* of the Armenian *čana-parh* to *čar-* 'to move around' failed to satisfy me. So the Avestan word stood uncertain. The word *čānaga-* provides the desired base of a specialized motion.

Ch. Bartholomae, in the *AIW* had suggested to compare Latin and Celtic *can-* 'to sing', but thought also to assume a corruption of *hvan-* 'to sound'.



On Indo-European Pronominal "Roots"

G. Bonfante

According to Benveniste's thesis, which is of course based on laryngeals, all "Indo-European" roots are "triliteral", that is, in phonetic terms, they are composed of **consonant + vowel + consonant**. That is, admitting laryngeals:

1. roots like ***ed-** ('to eat'), ***ok-** ('eye'), etc. had an initial laryngeal, that changed (or preserved?) an ancient (undetermined?) vowel into **e, o** or **a**; so instead of ***ed-**, ***ok-** we had once (I do not give a number to laryngeals) something like ***hed-**, ***hok-** and so on, and the triliteral scheme is safe;

2. roots which in our Brugmannian or Hirtian system end in a long vowel (e.g. ***dhē-** 'to put', ***dō-** 'to give') really had once a short vowel + laryngeal (***dheh-**, ***doh-**) and the triliteral scheme is safe;

3. roots of the type ***bher-** ('to bring'), ***sed-** ('to sit') were "triliteral" from the beginning, and there is nothing to change.

Everything is very easy with laryngeals; too easy! Therefore, accepting Benveniste's main idea ("triliteralism"), but avoiding laryngeals, proposed (in **I Mille**, Florence 1970, pp. 190ff.):

1. that in roots like ***ed-**, ***ok-** etc. the initial vowel had what we call a "hard attack", or *spiritus legis*, as in German nowadays (as opposed to the French *liason*); this *spiritus legis* (so marked by the Greeks) took the place of an initial consonant; thus they enter into the "triliteral" organization;

2. roots ending in a long vowel (like ***dhē-**, ***dō-** etc.) are metrical equivalent to the type ***bher-** or ***sed-**, and were felt as such by the Indo-Europeans;

3. roots of the type ***sed-** or ***bher-** were quite in order anyhow.

No Indo-European roots like ***tō-**, ***sō-** etc. can exist.

But there is one big question, which nobody, as it seems, has



tackled. Benveniste's system (apart from the laryngeals) is really valid for verbs and nouns (and consequently for adjectives, adverbs, conjunctions, which are derived from the noun-verb unity); but how about pronouns? Does anybody propose to derive them from nouns or verbs? I think not.

Now, there can be some discussion about the personal pronouns (Latin *eg-o*, Sanskrit *máy-ā*, *tváy-ā*, Latin *nōs*, *uōs* etc.) and about numerals (**oi-no-s*, Sanskrit *duv-áu*, **tréy-es*, Greek *téssares*, *pénte*, Sanskrit *pāñča* etc.); with some trick or other linguists may well achieve to find triliteralism (but **mě*, **tě* ?). But I cannot see absolutely by what means triliteralism can be discovered in **sǵ-* (Greek *hō*, Latin *ip-se*, Sanskrit *sa* etc.) or in **to-* (Latin *is-tu-d*, Greek *tód*), Sanskrit *tá-d*, where *-d* is of course an ending, cfr. Latin *qui-d*, *quo-d*) or in **kǵ-* **kǵ-* (Latin *quod*, *quid* etc.), or in **kǵ-*, **ǵ-*, cfr. e.g. Brugmann, *Kurze vergl. Gramm.*, Strassburg, 1904, pp. 399 sgg.

In conclusion: Benveniste's theory about roots is quite valid for the nouns, verbs, etc. It is doubtful for personal pronouns; it cannot be absolutely adapted to the demonstrative, interrogative and relative pronouns, which present forms that are absolutely impossible to insert in the "triliteral" theory. Are they possibly older?



The Cognomenta of Two Germanic Matronae

E. A. Ebbinghaus

In a recent article G. Neumann (1987) has analysed several of the *cognomenta* of Germanic *matronae*. With a clean and consistent methodology and sober argumentation he has succeeded in demonstrating for a score of these names purely Germanic origin. Towards the end of his article (125 f.) Neumann gives a list of fifteen *cognomenta* which remain unexplained and remarks, 'Bei mehreren dieser M-Bn [i.e. Matronen-Beinamen] ist es denkbar, dass sie noch eine plausible Erklärung aus dem Germanischen finden.' It so happens that I have amongst my notes some remarks on three of the *cognomenta* in Neumann's list (which, as will be seen later, can be reduced to two) and should like to present them here.

1. Neumann (126) has gathered together as a group AVDRINEHAE, AVTHRINEHAE, and AVTRIAHENAI, though he does not claim them to be identical. If the well known terminal elements of these names are abstracted, we are left with **audri-**, **authri-**, and **autri-**, respectively. It is known that in manuscripts and inscriptions Lat. **t** and **th** both can represent Germanic **f** (cf. Schönfeld xxii). Therefore, it is possible to assume that both **authri-** and **autri-** are identical. The two can be further analysed as **aut(h)-** plus **-ri-**. The ancient element **-ri-** seems to have formed adjectives, cf. GK. *idris* : Olcel. *vitri*, Goth. **riurs* : Olcel. *rýrr*; but it can also be found in other derivations, cf. Goth. **wulþ-u-s* : **wulþ-r-s*. The preceding **aut(h)-** can be taken as representing the Germanic root **auþ-* which is present in e.g. Goth. adj. **auþs* (or **auþeis* GK. *érémos-*), subst. *auþida*, OE adj. *ieðe* 'barren,' OHG *aodi* 'desolate' subst. *odi* 'desolate/waste land,' &c.

If the preceding analysis were acceptable, the entire name could be interpreted as the 'matres of the waste land.' The term 'waste land' may disturb the modern reader in its apparent vagueness. However, in the narrow confines of local topography such designations are not unknown. I might remark that in 'modern' America, about a dozen miles from my home there is a vast area of poor soil, grown with shrubs, inferior timber, which is called 'The Barrens.'



2. The third name in Neumann's list is AVDRINEHAE. I think that it must be kept separate from the name discussed above on account of its dental. Lat. *d* represents quite regularly the Germanic voiced spirant *ð*, in manuscripts and inscriptions. However, in all other respects the structure of the name appears to be identical with that of the name(s) above.

After one has abstracted the terminal *-nehae*, there remains *audri-* which again permits to think of the suffix *-ri-*. That leaves the nucleus *aud-* which can easily represent the Germanic root **auð-*. Germanic **auð-*, deriving from IE **audʰ-*, an extension of the IE root **aw-/*awē-*, is very well represented in the individual Germanic dialects. The basic meaning of the IE root **audʰ-* must have been approximately 'good fortune, luck, wealth,' to which on the basis of Breton *ozach* 'master the house' one may perhaps add the semantic dimension of 'domestic power'. Germanic reflexes of **audʰ-* can be seen e.g. in Goth. *audags*, GK. *makários*, **audahafts* 'blessed,' OS *od* 'possession, wealth,' OE *eadig*, OHG *otac* 'blessed, wealthy,' Olcel. *auðigr* 'wealthy', &c. Germanic *auð-* is also frequent in names, cf. *audica* (Suebian king, 6th c.), *audefleda* (Franconian princess, 5th c.), *audolena* (Burgundian?, n.d.), *audoin* (Langob. 6th c.); cf. also the Illyr. name *audarus*.

All this leads to an interpretation as 'matres of good fortune, wealth, possessions.'

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Sandhi and Non-Sandhi in Albanian

Eric P. Hamp

Not much has been published specifically or explicitly on *sandhi* phenomena in Albanian. Most of the available information is in the form of *obiter dicta* in the course of discussion of other topics, or of now somewhat dated historical reconstructions, or in grammars or dialect descriptions of more general scope. Much Albanological literature is fairly scattered or inaccessible in language, and thus discourages broad use and incorporation in our theoretical and survey literature; see Hamp 1972.

Therefore, as a way of approaching the topic, which I hope to continue on another occasion, it is appropriate to begin by discussing the one generally accessible work dealing with *sandhi* in Albanian, Cimochofski 1950. Actually, this article is for the most part occupied with a historical and reconstructive problem, one on which it makes a notable contribution: the dual representation, **d** and **ð** (orthographic **dh**), of IE **d/dh* and **ǵ/ǵh*; i.e. *each* of the latter set appears to show *both* of the former reflexes in Albanian, and *sandhi* had already been invoked by Pedersen to explain the difference. Cimochofski's discussion is, however, prefaced by a more general discussion of Albanian *sandhi*.

That discussion takes the form of single illustrations of supposed *sandhi* situations and the observed Albanian output, or result. Pedersen had spoken very early about **j** and **v** as sounds generated in prehistoric Albanian in the role of Hiatusstilger (i.e. transitional glide between vowels). This is really a question of reconstructed Albanian phonotactics, and not demonstrably restricted to "external *sandhi*" situations—quite apart from the fact that in historical Albanian it has been totally moribund and non-productive. In my experience, one has at most dialect variants: for 'she, that (fem. sg. nom.)' we find in some dialects **aó** and in others **ajó**; I am not even sure **aó** is historically prior to **ajó** in the modern attestations. There is no alternation to sustain a rule inserting **v** in historical Albanian that could not be stated under another theory as a simple allomorphy in the addition of inflexional suffixes: **v** before vowel but not before consonant.

There are words which in all of Albanian or in dialects turn up

with unexpected or "unetymological" **h**; Jokl used to speak of "inorganic **h**". This is partly a matter of etymology. The female of **arí** 'bear' is surely **harushë**. The element **-ushë** is thought to be a suffix, and **-í** is surely a later accretion on this and other male monosyllables. I claim that the **h** is simply a contextual survival of an old consonantism which once appeared as ***arh**, being lost in final position. Some words (Tosk **idhëtë** 'bitter', Geg **hith** 'nettle') may or may not be related. Some dialects show a "Cockney" effect, e.g. that around Prespa, where the neighboring Makedonski confirms this areal/contact trait. Such "Cockney" forms presumably then may be borrowed (in the past) into other dialects. As a result of such symbiosis we then find hyper-forms with **h-**. Such a form must be 'star'. Cimochowski thought Scutarene **hyll** original, but surely Dushmani **yll**, pl. **yž-t** < ***yj-zë-të**, is the expected form; all the archaic and isolated enclaves, especially those with a clear spirant [x] or [Y] for **h**, which could not have readily lost **h** nor were ever demonstrably adjacent to such a dialect—all these varieties show a vowel initial for this etymon. I know of no evidence for alternation of initial **h-** in Albanian, and only routine phonotactic rules for its deletion in medial position.

Cimochowski speaks of "fausse décomposition" in the case of **tjetër** : **jatërë** (in different dialects), pl. **të tjerë -a** 'other'. The notion here would be that the presence/absence of **t-** would be explained by a type of misdivision of the particle ("article") ***të**. No doubt that such an element is involved. But I would claim that the dialectal inconsistency is semantic in origin. We must remember here that Romanian **celălalt** 'other' shows us that there is an ancient Balkan complexity in the morphological reflection of semantics in this expression. The complexity underlying **cili** 'which' < ***t(ë)si-l-**, gen. **të cilit**, is, I claim, one of fossilized and conflated (cor)relatives. The explanation here is, then, syntactic.

Cimochowski adduces Geg **t(ë)lyn** 'butter'. From Tosk of Asamati (Prespa) I have **lyran tamišt** 'the fat of the meat'. Here we simply have an ancient nominalized participle, with the particle of concord **të** stripped off. Again, Geg **tam(b)el** 'milk' is in origin the nominalized adjective **âmbel** 'sweet'. These are really questions of etymology. The noun **terrë** 'darkness' is a more living and semantically productive formation, although Dushmani has (according to Cimochowski, the expert on that dialect; see Hamp 1953) only the accusative construction, with preposition, **kā met n tērr** 'has remained in darkness'. The unions seen in these locutions are not simply, or perhaps at all, results of *sandhi*, but are founded in frozen phrasal syntaxes.

On the other hand, Cimochoowski mentions a case of missegmented close phrasal juncture: Dushmani *nij* (fem. pl.) 'hanches, faiblesse', related to *ijē* and Calabrian *ilē* found elsewhere. Thus we have *m ðem n ij* 'j'ai mal aux hanches, *mē dhēmp n(d)ē ijē*' > *m ðem m nij* among younger speakers. I would further propose that here the preposition *m* = *mbē* has been falsely extracted from the *-m* (even the phonologically strong North Geg **m̃* < *mb*) of *ðem*. In this instance we have not so much old *sandhi*, but even misanalyzed phrasal syntax—i.e. one of the main sources of pure syntactic change.

We may finally turn to an instance of dialectal change founded in true *sandhi*, the only case, in my opinion, of true indubitable *sandhi* (i.e. external) instanced by Cimochoowski. North Geg loses the indefinite genitive inflexion of the noun. That is, definite and indefinite gen. merge, assuming the shape which appears to be the inthertied definite. Thus, *(nji) djali t mīr* 'of a good boy' > ...*djālīt*... because phonetically the nexus is identical with *djalīt t(ē) mīrē* 'of the good boy'. The reason for this is that *t#t* → *tt* (in a close phrase, here an NP) → [t], because by a long-standing rule of Albanian phonotactics there are no phonetic "geminate", i.e. sequences of like consonantal segments (including affricates) at a certain level of integration become monosegmental. Then, contrary to Cimochoowski, *vajze s bukur* 'of a beautiful girl' is *not* analogous in origin; rather, it follows the revised rule of masculine phrasal (NP) syntax. All of this finally leads in North Geg to the absence of the concord particle with the adjective (or adjunct) in genitive syntax. Therefore, *bāb-s mīr* 'of (the, a) good father.' This development has a (contact, I should say) parallel of simplification in inflexion of the genitive NP in the neighboring Serbo-Croatian—a topic for another day.

Thus we have in this *sandhi*-originated phenomenon a basis in phonotactics, but exclusively over morpheme boundaries (internal *sandhi*) and within phrases over word boundaries (external) followed by an extension governed by syntactic rule (concord).

All these matters raised by Cimochoowski are in some measure diachronic (as is the heart of his article), and at least comparatively dialectological. This is really of no moment to us for the present; indeed, we might like to argue for a dialect-or speaker-based dynamic synchrony, whereby we may for the time being neglect the precise synchronic scope of some of these relics of diachronic action. Nevertheless, I want to a) point out how little of these matters is truly a function of *sandhi sensu stricto*, in a useful sense; and b) bring to a wider audience good work and observations by a scholar (†1982)



of great merit, for a neglected language; and again, c) set the basis of my own observations more clearly than otherwise in the tradition of our studies. Most of the careful work on this aspect of Albanian is historical.

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The Role of Accents as Suprasegmental Phonemes in Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī

S. M. Katre

In his introduction to Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī Patañjali refers to two specific aims for the proper study of grammar (*vy-ā-kar-aṇa-*) under the captions (1) *a-sam-deha-artham adhy-eyam vya-ā-kar-aṇam* and (2) *duṣ-ṭaḥ sabda=h*. Under the first aim he refers to the recitation of *yājñikas* where, in the passage *sthū-la-prṣ-atīm āgnī-vāruṇīm ā-labḥ-eta* the place of accent on the word *sthū-la-prṣ-at-ī* will determine its meaning: if accented on the final syllable of the compound it denotes a *tatpuruṣa* compound, but if accented on the first member it is a *bahuvrīhi* compound, and the sense of the passage will ultimately depend on the position of the accent. Therefore, accent is important to determine the meaning. The example cited is from a Vedic text which is generally accented. Under the second aim a specific reference is made to the position of the accent in relation to the meaning intended, citing the famous example of *indra-śat-ru-*, again a Vedic example. Here too the placement of the accent determines the nature of the compound: if the first member bears its proper accent it is a *bahuvrīhi*, and if it falls on the final syllable of the compound it is a *tatpuruṣa*. The story of Vṛtra's sacrifice, originally intended for him to become the vanquisher of Indra, was sabotaged by his cunning priest by a change of accent to make Indra his vanquisher! While this position holds good for the Vedic language, the question whether the system of accentuation associated with it continued to persist in later times is one which is worthy of some consideration. Among the various systems of grammar which have survived that of Pāṇini alone lays a meticulous stress on this feature. Since Pāṇini composed his Aṣṭādhyāyī to give a description of his native speech as current among the educated class, this emphasis on the accents associated with lexemes consisting of nominal stems, verbal stems, the vast group of affixes, increments, substitutes, etc. is an indication that it was significant in his current speech. Apart from the individual accents associated with the lexemes and morphemes referred to by him there is also the placement of a single accent on the grammatical word generated in the form of declensional or conjugational expressions. However, the primary meaning depends on the accent of the lexeme as generated by the addition of affixes to nominal or verbal stems.



In generating ordinals from cardinal numbers P. 5.2.49 indicates the affix **máT** after numerals ending in **-n**, yielding the following ordinals : **pañca-má-**, **sapta-má-**, **aṣṭa-má-**, **nava-má-**, **daśa-má-** respectively denoting 'fifth/seventh/eighth/ninth/tenth'. P 5.3.49 denotes an affix **-aN** after numerals preceding eleven to generate fractions : **pañca-ma+aN = pañca-ma-** 'one-fifth' with the accent falling on the initial syllable (6.1.197), a clear indication that this accent is a suprasegmental phoneme. Similarly P 5.2.54 generates the ordinal **dvī-tīya-** 'second' while 5.3.48 derives the fraction for 'half' with affix **-aN** yielding the surface form **dvī-tīya-** with the accent on the initial syllable.

Pāṇini indicates two affixes **-ka/kaN** which some times generate identical surface forms but with different accents associated with different meanings : Thus 5.3.74 generates the form **aśva-ká-** meaning 'a nag', while 5.3.96 gives us **áśva-ka-** with accent on the initial syllable to denote 'an image or model of a horse'.

Another set of examples will suffice to indicate the nature of accents as suprasegmental phonemes. P 6.1.201 indicates the lexeme **kṣáy-a-** to denote a residence with the accent on the initial syllable while **kṣay-á-** with its proper accent on the final syllable denotes something else. Similar is the case with the expressions **jáy-a-/jay-á-**, the first indicating an instrument while the second indicates an agent.

It may also be noted that in the accentuation of *bahuvrīhi* and *tatpuruṣa* compounds, there is no conflict; where a *tatpuruṣa* compound is accented on the first member, the same compound as a *bahuvrīhi* will be accented on the final syllable of the compound as contrasted by 6.2.2 versus 6.2.172 : **á-ratha-/a-rathá-** 'not a chariot/without a chariot'.

There are, however, indications that accent was noticeable in the current speech described by Pāṇini since in 6.1.181 he specifically refers to the optional placement of accent on the declensional forms of numbers for six, three and four in *bhāṣā-yām* (spoken medium). Its phonemic status, however, seems to have gradually disappeared by the time of Patañjali. In his *Mahābhāṣya*, while commenting upon the first *sūtra*, he defines the expression **ta-para-** occurring in 1.1.70 [**ta-paras tat-kāla-sya**] in two ways : once as a *bahuvrīhi* and once as a *tatpuruṣa* compound. If the *sūtra*-text handed down by oral tradition contained an accentual system, Patañjali could not have attempted to analyze that form in two ways. It is, therefore, no wonder that later grammatical systems paid little attention to accentuation with reference to classical Sanskrit as distinguished from the earlier form occurring in Vedic texts.



Some Avestan Notes

M.A. Mehendale

1 *tā...aparō* 'with him as second'

In Y. 45.11 occurs *yastā daēvāng aparō mašyascā tarōa.mastā*. Insler¹ proposes to read *ā.parō* in place of *aparō*. In his commentary, he interprets *ā.parō* as nom. pl. of **ā-par-* 'guilty' which he treats as a derivative of *par-* 'to judge as guilty'. Accordingly Insler translates the above line as "the person who, in this very way, has opposed the guilty gods and mortals".

Humbach², on the other hand, translates the passage as "Wer sich mit ihm als zweiter über Daēvas und Menschen erhaben fühlt".

If Humbach's interpretation of *tā...aparō* is correct we have in this construction an exact parallel to the Sanskrit compound of the type *ātmanādvitīyah* 'with self as a second, i.e. accompanied by one more person' recognised by Pāṇini (6.3.6)

2 *abifra-* 'incomparable'

abifra- (adj.) occurs only once in the Gāthās (Y. 33. 13). Bartholomae (92) assigns to it the meaning 'ohne Gleichen, unvergleichlich'. Humbach³ accepts this meaning and translates the Gathic passage *rafōrāi vourucašānē dōiši mōi yā vō abifrā* as "Zu Hilfe o Weithinblickender ! Zeige mir, was eure unvergleichlichen Eigenarten sind". He does not comment on the word.

Insler⁴, however, does not accept the above meaning. He renders the passage as "Lord of broad vision, disclose to me for support the safeguards of your rule." Commenting on this word he admits it to be 'difficult'. Since the attested form is not *aibifrā*, he does not look upon the initial *ā-* as *alpha privativum* but takes it to be a shortened form of the preverb *ā-*. In his opinion the attested form *abifrā* stands for the original **ābifrā*. As regards the form, he derives the stem **ā-bifra-* from **ā-bibhra-*, i.e. from the root *ā-bhar-*. For the unexpected change *-bhr->-fr-*, he cites the parallel AV. *jafra-* 'deep' = Vedic *gabhirā*. As regards the meaning, he says that the root *bar* in the sense 'support' occurs in the Gāthās. Apparently, according to Insler, the meaning 'safeguard' can be had from 'support'.



H.P. Schmidt⁵ has already pointed out the difficulties in admitting Insler's interpretation, but he accepts Insler's derivation of **-bifra-** from **bhar-**. He treats **a-** as *alpha privativum*. The meaning he assigns to **abifra-** is 'not to be carried off, inalienable', because in his opinion **bhar-** has the connotation 'carry off' (cf. Yt. 10.21).

Schmidt's interpretation suffers from the fact that **bhar-** with the preverb **apa-** can have the connotation 'carry off', but not with the preverb **ā-**. That would rather have the opposite meaning to 'carry to or near'.

Accepting Bartholomae's suggestion that **abifra-** means 'incomparable', it is possible to make a suggestion regarding the etymology. While teaching the mode of formation of the ordinals, Pāṇini has used the word **pūraṇa** (*tasya pūraṇe* ...5.2.48). Accordingly Sk. **dvitiya** 'second' literally means "What fills, what completes the number 'two'." Taking a cue from this it is possible to explain **-fra-** in **-bifra-** from the root Sk. **prā-**, Av. **par-** (**ḥam-pāfrāiti**) 'to fill'. **Bifra-**, like **dvitiya-**, then would mean 'what completes the number two, i.e. the second'. **Abifra-**, like **advitiya-**, would mean 'without a second, incomparable'. It is likely that **bifra-**, due to a semantic shift, got the meaning 'double, one to compare with'. The V. 13.44 passage **sūnahe aēvahe aštā bifrām**⁶ would mean 'The one dog has eight doubles or persons to compare with'.

3. **māyavant-** 'full of bleats (or bleat-making sheep)

The word, in its fem. form **māyavaitī-**, occurs only once in a younger Avestan text. Bartholomae (1168) assigns to it hesitatingly the meaning 'wo Begattungen stattfinden'. The passage in which the word occurs runs as **kaθa ašāum apa.jaso šitibyasca haca gaomaitibyasca vayavaitibyasca haca māyavaitibyasca-** (Haðōxt Nask 2.16)"... von den Stätten, die mit vierfüssigen Tieren und mit Vögeln bevölkert sind und wo deren Begattungen stattfinden (?)" (Bartholomae 1169). Since the dwelling places are here first described as full of cattle (**gaomaitī-**) and birds (**vayavaitī-**), it would be natural to expect the following word **māyavaitī-** to have a comparable meaning. It is possible to obtain this by interpreting the word **māya-**⁷ as 'bleating sound' from Sk. **mā** (**mīmāti**) 'to bleat'. We may compare with this interpretation Av. **anumaya-** 'sheep'. The word **māyavant-** would then mean 'full of bleats (or bleat-making sheep)'.



Notes

- 1) *The Gāthās of Zarathustra*, 1975.
- 2) *Die Gāthās des Zarathustra*. Band I, 1959.
- 3) *op. cit.* p. 103.
- 4) *op. cit.* p. 53.
- 5) *Form and Meaning of Yasna 33*, 1985.
- 6) Sg. for pl. The explanation offered here of **bifra-** should answer Barthoomac's question : 'Was bedeutet ***plo-** eigentlich ?' (under **bi-fra-** 965).
- 7) Accordingly H. Reichelt, *Avesta Reader* (p. 252) 'Cohabitation-supplied, where cohabitations or pairings take place (doubtful)', and M.F. Kanga (*Festschrift Prof. P.V. Kane*, p. 250) 'full of... enjoyments of love'.
- 8) Cf. Sk. **māyu-** 'bleating'.

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- 1) S. Insler: *The Gāthās of Zarathustra*, E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1975.
- 2) Helmut Humbach: *Die Gathas des Zarathustra*, Bände I, II, Carl Winter. Universitätsverlag, Heidelberg, 1959.
- 3) Hans-Peter Schmidt: *Form and Meaning of Yasna 33*, (with contributions by Wolfgang Lentz and Stanley Insler), American Oriental Society, New Haven, Connecticut, 1985.
- 4) Hans Reichelt: *Avesta Reader*, Texts, Notes, Glossary and Index, Karl J Trübner, Strassburg, 1911, Photomechanischer Nachdruck, Walter de Gruyter & Co., Berlin, 1968.
- 5) *Festschrift Prof. P.V. Kane* (A Volume of Studies in Indology presented to.....), ed. by S.M. Katre and P.K. Gode, Oriental Book Agency, Poona, 1941.



The Indo-European Lexicon and its Usage as a Problem in Reconstruction

W. Meid

It is a well-known fact that it is difficult, and in many cases impossible, to establish beyond doubt the Indo-European terms for common concepts of the real and abstract world. This is so largely because the Indo-European languages, which are the material basis for our attempts at reconstruction, only too often have different terms for the same concept, or feature variants whose original semantic distinctions we can no longer discern. Those parts of the universal Indo-European vocabulary which it is possible to reconstruct beyond doubt are usually elements of the basic vocabulary, i.e. terms for concepts from Man's natural sphere, his environment and living conditions, which express fundamental experiences and insights, and whose "meaning" is constant for all members of the speech community. This includes terms for Man himself with respect to sex, kinship and age, terms for body parts and bodily functions, unmistakable phenomena and impressions of inanimate Nature such as "heaven" and "earth"; "sun", "moon", and "stars"; "fire", and "water"; "wind", "rain", "it is snowing", "winter", "cold", "warm" etc. To a certain extent it also includes elements of animate Nature, such as the names of wild and domesticated animals, and wild and cultivated plants, though here changes in ecological and economic conditions may impair the constancy and universal validity of this section of the vocabulary. But "fish" and "bird" at least were fixed concepts in the minds of the Indo-Europeans. Further, the vocabulary which has survived proves that they knew and named the wolf and the bear, and that they had domesticated cattle, sheep and pigs. Less certain, however, is whether the early Indo-Europeans, or all the later Indo-Europeans after the migrations, knew the beech, which does not occur east of a line from Königsberg (Kaliningrad) to Odessa.

Apart from these basic terms the vocabulary is marked by its variability. The temporal and spatial aspect and, in conjunction with them, the sociological aspect (socio-cultural differences, class distinctions) are responsible for the greater part of language variation (i.e. variants on the synchronic level, language change on the diachronic axis). What the Indo-European languages have preserved of this original diasystem, is, due to the chance element in history and in



the preservation of written traditions, but a limited selection. To attempt to reconstruct the original reference system out of these isolated reflexes would be an impossible task.

The objective of Indo-European linguistics is to reconstruct Proto-Indo-European, and thereby also to throw light on the prehistory of the individual Indo-European languages. "To reconstruct Proto-Indo-European" is, however, easier said than done. Behind the optimistic and sometimes naïve view that it is possible to reconstruct "Indo-European"—or at least its basic features—lies the illusionary concept of the unified character of Indo-European. This illusion is fostered by the methods of comparison and linear reconstruction, whereby we compare only what is alike or very similar, which is then filtered out, assigned a hypothetical pre-form and projected back into the proto-language, thus giving it a semblance of unity. But when we include the differences, rather than explaining them away, we get alternative reconstructions. And these diverging results of linear reconstructions indicate the existence of synchronic irregularities and variations, or diachronic processes within the proto-language.

Everything we know about language tells us that irregularities can, and indeed must have existed at all times. And this is precisely what makes the reconstruction of Indo-European (or of a branch of it, such as Germanic) so difficult, and virtually impossible. For the proto-language was not the ideal unified system which we aim at, but a system of constants and variables, in which even the constants (the phonemic, morphemic, lexemic entities, the syntactic patterns) have only an ideal behaviour, as a result of the ability of speakers to use language creatively. For example, a speaker can express the constant "I" by other means than the appropriate personal pronoun, such as the 1st person plural, the 3rd person singular ("the writer of these lines..."), or by paraphrases such as "yours truly"; the 2nd person pronoun can, in appropriate circumstances, be replaced by expressions like "your grace", "your honour", "your majesty" etc. In the morphology of Indo-European, the dissociation of the accent, ablaut and other morphemes from their original relationship of mutual dependency has given rise to a system of variable allomorphs, which in their turn can become the elements of new grammatical paradigms. These, accordingly, can no longer be judged by the old criteria. The "ideal" system, in which all the relations are still intact, has to be "guessed" in an almost divinatory process on the basis of certain clues. But it is possible, and indeed probable, that this ideal system never existed in a pure form. In the reconstruction of the morphology at any rate there are always a number of components involved, and



a more or less strong analogical mobility of these components can be assumed even for the proto-language. This built-in variability makes it impossible to reconstruct a system which is unequivocal in all details, and claims that this can be done are illusory. There is no "pure method" by means of which one can objectively arrive at a "pure system". What can be extrapolated with some degree of certainty are basic typological patterns and trends of development, morpho-semantic categories, paradigmatic classes and similar broad structures; the small-scale pattern cannot be determined in detail, precisely because it was by nature variable. We can do no more than to reconstruct set-pieces of a diasystem. To group and arrange these into individual systems which mirror the spatial and temporal continuum which was Proto-Indo-European is an attractive task, which however can only be tackled, by means of "internal reconstruction", when the first stage of work has been completed. To this end part of what would need to be done is to aim at and reconstruct the proto-language from the vantage point of *each* individual language or language group, to compare and contrast the results of such reconstructions with one another, and to relate them to one another in the framework of a diachronic and diatopic total system. But we are still a considerable distance away from such a step. A breakaway from the rigid reconstruction of the "Standard Model" of Indo-European, largely dominated by Greek and Indo-Iranian and a breakthrough to new insights about a differentiated picture of the proto-language can be expected when we start with Hittite, which can increasingly be seen to be one of the key languages for the reconstruction of Indo-European. Instead of presenting lengthy arguments here, let me refer to my article "Der Archaismus des Hethitischen" in the volume *Hethitisch und Indogermanisch* edited by E. Neu and myself¹, and to other works of mine in which an attempt is made to use other languages (such as Celtic or Germanic) as a basis for reconstruction², with a view to modifying the traditional picture of Proto-Indo-European.

To return to the lexicon: the lexicon reflects the outer world through the mirror of a world view which is conditioned by knowledge and experience and is thus particularly subject to change. As a kind of *perpetuum mobile* it is the real motor of all language development and change. To reconstruct a prehistoric lexicon is thus not merely difficult in itself, it also implies at the same time—though this is a

¹ *Hethitisch und Indogermanisch*, Innsbruck 1979, p. 159-176.

² "Keltisches und indogermanisches Verbalsystem", in: *Indogermanisch und Keltisch*, ed. K. H. Schmidt, Wiesbaden 1977, p. 108-131; *Das germanische Praeteritum*, Innsbruck 1971.



fact often ignored—a hypothesis about the particular world view which it expresses, that is its “semantics”, which must be free of contradiction. Today, for example, a hammer is usually a tool made of iron. But an etymological analysis reveals that the word hammer has survived a cultural change and that the original context was the Stone Age, in which the hammer was a stone tool (cf. Slavic *kamen*-“stone”³).

The greater part of the lexicon does not remain constant over a long period of time, but is subject to variation, whether in form or in content. This holds for the proto-language too, which cannot be thought of as a temporal and spatial unity, for in it all kinds of sociological differences must have influenced both the formation of concepts and their expression. This is even more the case in the subsequent history of Indo-European: in the daughter languages the repertoire of the proto-language is further selected, modified, replenished und renewed, often by means of building units (roots, morphemes) inherited from the proto-language. The result is that the dividing lines between inherited forms and substances, and new formations from this material, but shaped by a different spirit, are often blurred when perceived from a later point in time.

One can assume a relatively unified, though not completely uniform, use of the lexicon (and language use in general) at the most for Early Indo-European, and even then only if this was a linguistic unit small in number of speakers and territorial extension, within which synchronic communication was in principle possible between any two speakers. In practice this will hardly have been the case, as public life is carried on in large groups, private life in small groups, which furthermore have an intimate sphere about which no communication takes place with the outside world. Intimate life, therefore, is not represented by a common norm of language use, but by linguistic habits of a special kind (jargons and group vocabulary, idiolectisms, individual use of language).

Communication in the broadest sense takes place only about *important* things, and this alone leads to the establishment of a language norm, which precisely by virtue of the important function it fulfils for the community, is handed down to future generations. Things which are of purely individual interest and of no importance for the community, and which are only talked about by a narrow circle of people, have *ad hoc* names, which are formed on the spur

³ Old Norse *hamarr*, the formal equivalent of English *hammer*, German *Hammer*, has the meaning of “stone plate”.



of the moment, with the means at hand, within the context of the given pragmatic situation. Linguistic traditions resulting from such formations are usually short-lived and limited to a small radius; norms and traditions of general validity do not derive from linguistic intercourse in the intimate sphere. This is why the vocabulary of "unimportant" things is, to all intents and purposes, inaccessible to reconstruction, for these are being constantly renamed everywhere and at all times. Many things have, in fact, no fixed name, but are named, denoted or described as the need arises. For example, the many varieties of insects, grasses and herbs have no fixed nomenclature in the common language, for the very reason that most of them are unimportant and thus not subjects for communication. To the extent that they can be important (for example, medicinal herbs), knowledge of them is restricted to experts, who strive to keep this very knowledge secret and communicate about it only among themselves. This source too has contributed nothing or very little to the common linguistic tradition. Thus wherever the individual Indo-European languages have preserved words from the intimate, family sphere, which have the signs of being very old, it is likely that they derive from some group language or dialect. When such material allows us to reconstruct forms, these are not to be considered valid for the common language, but for some unspecified dialect or rather sociolect of it.

In the field of *sexual affairs*, privacy and intimacy are effectively protected by the principle of non-communication with outsiders. The appropriate language, usually of an affective nature, protected by taboo, thus remains within the intimate and confidential sphere and does not penetrate into the general stream of communication. It is only through "indiscretion", or covertly, so to speak, that this vocabulary can spread, and then only to a limited extent. Although this "intimate" vocabulary belongs largely to the category "unimportant", or unsuitable, uninteresting for communication, there are a number of exceptions: these are some terms of a general status for sexual organs and functions the importance of which for the life of each individual and above all for the propagation of society is generally recognized, so that communication about these biologically and sociologically relevant aspects of the sexual sphere is necessary and does indeed take place. This explains why it is precisely the basic terms of this sphere that have been inherited and can thus be reconstructed: Indo-European **ġen*- "beget, give birth", **eibh*- "futuere", **pesos* "penis", **g^e/olbhos* "womb", *(w) *ers*- "inseminate" (adj. "male"), **dhē*- "suck, give suck" (adj. "female")⁴ and others.

⁴For the continuants of these Indo-European lexemes in the individual languages see J. Pokorny, *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Bern 1959, p. 373 ff., 298, 824, 437, 81, 336, 241 ff.



As the relevant organs and functions are basically the same for man and the animals, the requirements of animal husbandry also contributed to the preservation of this vocabulary.

To conclude, let me say a word about the interdependence of the semantic structure of the vocabulary and word formation.

The essence of word formation as a productive process is that, starting from existing lexemic basic forms and meanings, and using the morphological means of derivation and compounding, new "words" are built, which are assigned to certain already existing or growing morpho-semantic categories. These categories are enriched with new members through the processes of word formation. As the semantic categories (in the case of nouns *nomina agentis*, *nomina actionis*, instrumentals, diminutives, augmentatives, collectives, in the case of verbs the action types) have a definite formal shape, this serves as a pattern and a model. Thus word formation is an analogical process and the individual so-formed word a product of analogy. Its creation fulfils the concrete need for a suitable term in a particular situation and can be repeated in similar situations. It is not in the least necessary for such a form to belong to the vocabulary as a fixed and constant entity; it is sufficient that it can be so formed. Only if the relevant form is repeatedly re-created a certain number of times, indicating that what it stands for is seen to be typical, it can be taken to have been institutionalized as a fixed element of the lexical inventory. The essential point is that in a productive system word formation is *potential*, i.e. that forms can be built according to rules *ad hoc*. This is essential from the point of view of linguistic economy: in the lexical inventory only basic concepts and forms of widespread currency are stored, and not the endless chains of forms which are theoretically possible but, as they depend on need, unpredictable. These can be realized by means of an analogical process, that of the productive rules of word formation.

When we consider the lexical system of a language as a whole, that is to say, as a structural complex of units of designation which in the final analysis are individual and which are more or less systematically ordered in formal and semantic subsystems or categories, it becomes clear that productive word formation and its products play a subordinate role. They serve to fill in and fill up the system *en détail*, also to replenish and restore it, whereas the fundamental positions of the system are filled by words which, synchronically at least, are unmotivated, i.e. not dependent on any other word, but which themselves form the basis of derivation. Thus, in German, *Machbarkeit* ("makeability") depends on *machbar* ("makeable"), which

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in its turn depends on *machen* ("make") : this latter word, however, cannot be traced back further ; it is formally and semantically a basic word.

From an historical point of view the "lexicon" of a language consists of inherited words and loanwords (including "foreign words", i.e. words which have not become fully integrated), as well as recent formations, which are new coinages (or replacements for old words) made of the language's formal resources. Among these the inherited words and loanwords are fully lexicalized elements of the vocabulary, whereas the products of productive word formation are ambivalent : as long as they are potentially capable of being formed, they need not be considered fully-fledged members of the lexicon. However, they frequently acquire—even if only temporarily—the status of a "coined" word which can be called on at will after repeated spontaneous formation and use, and can thus be considered lexicalized. The creations of word formation can be misinterpreted as inherited words when the formal elements of which they are built are inherited ; however, they are only in substance or in type inherited, and not as individual lexemes. This must be borne in mind when languages are compared ; Sanskrit **bhr-ti** "carrying, support", Latin **fors, fortis** "chance" and Old High German **gi-burt** (English **birth**) are not "inherited words", but rather independent new formations based on the inherited productivity of **ti**-formations in the individual languages. In other words, just as ***bhr-ti-** was a possible formation in Indo-European, so it still was in the individual Indo-European languages, as is indicated by the varying meanings, in each case based on the meaning of the verb. Only at some later stage does the word become lexicalized in the individual languages, either because the method of formation is no longer productive (e.g. *Geburt* in German), or because the connection with the verb is no longer transparent (as in Latin **fors**). For Indo-European however a word ***bhr-ti-** itself cannot be postulated, but only the possibility of its formation ; that it actually was formed is proven by the fact that the process is repeated into the period of the individual languages.

In future investigations of the vocabulary of Indo-European it will be necessary not just to reconstruct the lexemes of the proto-language on the basis of the words attested in the individual Indo-European languages, but also to establish, by observing attested productive mechanisms, what words could have been formed, and were thus potentially available.

One could also envisage a similar venture into the field of discourse analysis. Up to now Indo-European "texts" (text fragments) have

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been reconstructed only from stereotyped formulaic expressions (mostly of a poetic nature), which have been preserved in identical form in the individual languages.⁵ In future it should be possible to go a step further, and to conjecture the existence of word clusters and phrases which are not attested at all, as potential texts of speakers of Indo-European. We may also use our knowledge of the lexicon and the grammar to work out such "texts" when there was a possibility or probability that they may in fact have been uttered. For collocations such as "dear child" (or, more generally, "dear" + any animate noun from the intimate, personal, field), "don't be afraid", "make a meal for me", "the sun has (just) risen", "the wolf has savaged (devoured) (another) sheep", and many others of this nature can be supposed to have occurred repeatedly in everyday life, under the relevant conditions, and can thus be "reconstructed", i.e. phrased "in Indo-European", or, to put it more guardedly, in some Indo-European dialect or sociolect, even though there may be no textual evidence, or very little, available in the Indo-European languages. One could also try to probe the emotional or affective side of human intercourse. There is a very real possibility that someone might cry out in anger "I'll murder you!" (*g^henmi te), as our experience shows. Even the most notorious exhortation in German literature has often been formulated "in Indo-European"—a well-known joke among comparativists. Now all this may be considered as going too far or be viewed as light-hearted playfulness, but nevertheless such exercises in Indo-European "generative grammar" have an undeniable value. Not only do they force us to risk the step from the reconstruction of words and morphemes to the reconstruction of sentences, they also teach us something about Indo-European syntax, as the hitherto abstract knowledge about syntactic schemata takes on perceptible concrete shape. Now it is clearly an example of circular thinking to want to deduce Indo-European syntax from self-made texts; but, apart from the above-mentioned poetic fragments, we have only those Indo-European texts which we ourselves, using the knowledge at our disposal and considering the likelihood in each case, create as potential texts; and syntax only becomes evident through texts. The dangers of this circular thinking can be minimized, by separating the known from the unknown, by cautious feed-back manoeuvres, by reasoning through analogy and so forth. The fear of circular thinking, however, should not prevent us from risking a try. Let us not forget that it was tried as far back as 1868 by A. Schleicher, in his famous "Fable in the original Indo-European language" about the sheep and the steeds, which was later modified

⁵Like the famous expression Homeric Greek *Kléos áphthiton*=Vedic Indic *śráva(s) áksitam*.



by H. Hirt according to the level of knowledge of his day and his own views, more recently by W. P. Lehmann and L. Zgusta⁶ and lastly, in laryngealist fashion, by M. Peters⁷. This was the only such attempt, and it has remained a curiosity—unfortunately so, for a continuous confrontation with the problem of a “generative” production of texts would certainly have led to some texts acceptable both in form and content, which would have illustrated Indo-European in speech-acts, admittedly simulated. Even an artificial language like Esperanto lives through being used; there is all the more reason for activating a language which is artificial merely as a reconstruction, but which did once actually exist. Language is not merely an historical source, and thus an ancillary historical discipline, it is also, as *Poiesis*, a source of knowledge about Man, his thought and his world.

⁶In : *Festschrift for O. Szemerényi*, amsterdam 1979, 455-466.

⁷In : H. Birkhan, *Etymologie des Deutschen*, Bern 1985, S. 308.



Some Comments on the Etymology of Vedic **simháh** 'lion'.

E. C. Polomé

In his *Concise Etymological Sanskrit Dictionary*, vol. 3 (Heidelberg : Carl Winter, 1976), p. 463, Manfred Mayrhofer considers the Vedic term **simháh** 'lion' as "unexplained" (*nicht geklärt*). Listing the various efforts made to etymologize the word, he concludes in every case that it must have been a loanword. Although it is well documented in the Ríg Veda (cf. Hermann Grassmann, *Wörterbuch zum Ríg-Veda* [Wiesbaden : Otto Harrasowitz, 1964, 4th ed.], col. 1515) and has survived in the modern Indo-Aryan languages—sometimes with the meaning 'leopard' or 'tiger' (cf. R.L. Turner, *A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages* [London : Oxford University Press, 1966], Nr. 13384, p. 772), it has no cognates in the other Indo-European languages, except for Armenian **inj**, **inc** 'leopard' (the Armenian word for 'lion' being **ariwe**). Whether this correspondance allows us to reconstruct an IE ***sinǵʰo-**, as Thomas V. Gamkrelidze and Vjacheslav V. Ivanov (*Indoeuropejskij jazyk i Indoeuropejcy* [Tbilisi: Publishing House of the State University, 1984], vol. 2, p. 507) suggest, following Antoine Meillet (*Esquisse d'une grammaire comparée de l'arménien classique* [Vienna : The Mechitharists' Press, 1936, 2nd ed.], p. 142), remains disputable : more plausible is Georg R. Solta's view (*Die Stellung des Armenischen im Kreise der indogermanischen Sprachen* [Vienna : The Mechitharists' Press, 1960], p. 421), that we do not deal with an inherited IE term (*idg. Erbwort*), but with a loan of Armenian and Old Indic from the same Asiatic source, which might be related to Japanese **shishi** 'lion', as was already suggested in 1923 by H. Petersson. It should, however, be noted that Armenian **inj** can be explained differently as related with Skt. **piñjārah** 'red-dish-yellow,' of a golden color' and further with **piñgaláh** 'reddish-brown, yellow,' **piñkte** 'dyes, paints,' Lat. **pingere** 'paint,' etc. (Mayrhofer, *op.cit.*, vol. 2 [1963], pp. 268—269, 273), felines being often named after the color of their coat.

Toch. A **śisāk**, B **ṣecake** 'lion' has been considered as a borrowing from Indo-Iranian (cf. Gamkrelidze-Ivanov, *op.cit.*, p. 510), but A. J. van Windekens (*Le Tokharien confronté avec les autres langues indo-européennes* [Louvain : Centre International de Dialectologie

Générale, 1976], pp. 480—481, indicates that none of the proposed borrowing hypotheses properly accounts for the Tocharian forms, of which dialect B represents the most archaic one, reflecting an older *séteqo— versus *síteqo— in A śisāk—its stem being related with Lat. *saeta* 'hair (of an animal)'. The Tocharian terms would accordingly reflect an adjective referring to the lion's mane—an interpretation which Pavel Poucha (*Institutiones Linguae Tocharicae* [Prague : Státní Pedagogické Nakladatelství, 1955], p. 324) had already proposed with a different IE etymology, comparing Welsh *hoenyn* (<*sogno-), *hwynyn* "*saeta, caesaries*" (= 'hair').

While those who consider Vedic *simháh* as borrowed from an Asian language usually look for an eastern source, the resemblance of the Vedic term with Swahili *simba* 'lion' has occasionally been pointed out, and Mayrhofer's statement (*loc.cit.*, s.v. *simháh*) that this similarity may not be purely accidental, deserves perhaps closer consideration.

As Mayrhofer indicates, when reference is made to the Old Indic form, the Swahili term is usually explained as an Indian loan. The extensive Swahili dictionary of Father Charles Sacleux, compiled at the beginning of this century, though only published decades later (*Dictionnaire Swahili—Français*, vol. 2 [Paris : Institut d'Ethnologie, 1941], p. 806), compares both Skt. *simháh* and Arabic *sebá'*, plural of *sabu'* 'wild beast, lion,' but none of the later dictionaries refer to such parallels or possible sources anymore. It is indeed fairly well established that Swahili is an inherited Bantu term: as Malcolm Guthrie (*Comparative Bantu*, vol. 3 [Farnborough : Gregg International, 1970], p. 105), has shown, there is a Proto—Bantu stem *—*cimbà* designating some type of feline. Its meaning varies regionally, presumably according to the ecology: perhaps, it originally meant 'wild-cat'—a meaning which is still found mainly in the west of the Bantu territory, but which also appears sporadically in the center and in peripheral areas in the east. The following sampling is given by Guthrie:

- Maragoli (Kenya) [E 41] : *ẹke/simba* (cl. 7/8)
- North Bobe (Bota island, Fernando Po) [A 31a] : *n/třimba* (cl. 9/10)
- Bushong (Zaire) [C 83] : *řjim* (cl. 9/10)
- Kamba (Kenya) [E 55] *n/řimba* (cl. 9/10)
- kiKongo (Zaire) [H 16b] *n/simba* (cl. 9/10)
- Ila (Zambia) [M 63] *in/řimba* (cl. 9/10)
- Kwanyama (Angola/S.W. Africa) [R 21] *om/řimba* (cl. 9/10)—
implying an underlying initial *k-or t—
- Tswa (Mozambique/Zimbabwe) [S 51] *simba* (cl. 9/10)

In Southern Sotho (Lesotho) [S 33] **tship'a** (cl. 9/10) means 'genet' as well as 'wild-cat,' whereas the term has taken the meaning 'leopard' in Gweno (Tanzania) [E 65] **θimba** (cl. 9/10) and in kiMbundu (Angola) [R 11] **olu/simba** (cl. 11/10)—also designating the genet in the latter.

The meaning 'genet' is exemplified as follows by Guthrie :

Lwena/Luvale (Angola/Zambia) [K 14] **ṣimba** (cl. 1a/2)

Binji (Zaire) [L 22] **nṣimba** (cl. 1a/2)

ciCewa (Malawi/Zambia) [N 31b] **simba** (cl. 1a/2)

Ntomba (Zaire) [C 35a] **n/simba** (cl. 9/10)

Bemba (Zaire/Zambia) [M 42] **in/imba** (cl. 9/10)

Manyika (Zimbabwe) [S 13a] **tsimba** (cl. 9/10)

Venda (Zimbabwe/South Africa) [S 21] **tshimba** (cl. 9/10)

Zulu (South Africa) [S 42] **m/simba** (cl. 9/10)

Nandi (Zaire) [D 42] **olu/simba** (cl. 11/10)

luGanda (Uganda) [E 15] **aka/simba** (cl. 12/10)

In Kikuyu (Kenya) [E 51] **·ḏimba** (cl. 9/10) designates the black mongoose. The meaning 'lion' is exemplified by the following languages in Guthrie (*loc.cit.*) :

Mwera (Tanzania) [P 22] **imba** (cl. 1a/2)

Gogo (Tanzania) [G 11] **i/simba** (cl. 5/6)

Matengo (Tanzania) [N 13] **li/himba** (cl. 5/6)

Matumbi (Tanzania) [P 13] **imba** (cl. 5/6)

Yao (Malawi/Tanzania/Mozambique) [P 21] **li/simba** (cl. 5/6)

loKele (Zaire) [C 55] **simba** (cl. 9/10)

Ombo (Zaire) [C 76] **n/simba** (cl. 9/10)

Lega (Zaire) [D 25] **n/simba** (cl. 9/10)

Nyika (Kenya) [E 72b] **tshimba** (cl. 9/10)

Sukuma (Tanzania) [F 21] **ṣimba** (cl. 9/10)

Iramba (Tanzania) [F 31] **n/simba** (cl. 9/10)

Shambala (Tanzania) [G 23] **ṣimba** (cl. 9/10)

KiUnguja (Zanzibar) [G 42d] (=standard Swahili) **simba** (cl. 9/10)

As the map of the semantic distribution of these forms shows, the meaning 'lion' prevails in those savannah regions of eastern Africa where lions still abound nowadays, and it does not occur in the equatorial forest zone which never had a lion population. It should indeed be remembered that the large geographic range which the lion occupied in prehistoric Europe declined mainly near the end of the late Pleistocene as a result of the gradual formation of dense forests in which the animal could no longer thrive (cf. S. O'Brien et al., "*Biochemical Genetic Variation in Geographic Isolates of African and Asiatic Lions*," in *Research*, vol. 3: 1 [1987], pp. 114—124, esp. p. 115).

What does this imply for a possible connection between Swahili *simba* and Vedic *simhāḥ*?

(a) since Swahili *simba* derives directly from a well documented Bantu term for the "feline," borrowing from Old Indic—which would furthermore entail serious phonological problems if the Vedic *-h-* should reflect an IE **-ǵ-*—is fairly well excluded;

(b) since Vedic *simhāḥ* has no IE cognate outside of the ambiguous Armenian *inj* 'leopard,' one might wonder whether the term could not be a loanword belonging to the cultural sphere of the Indian Ocean where relations by sea between the east coast of Africa and the west coast of the South Asian subcontinent, taking advantage of the monsoon, have existed since time immemorial.

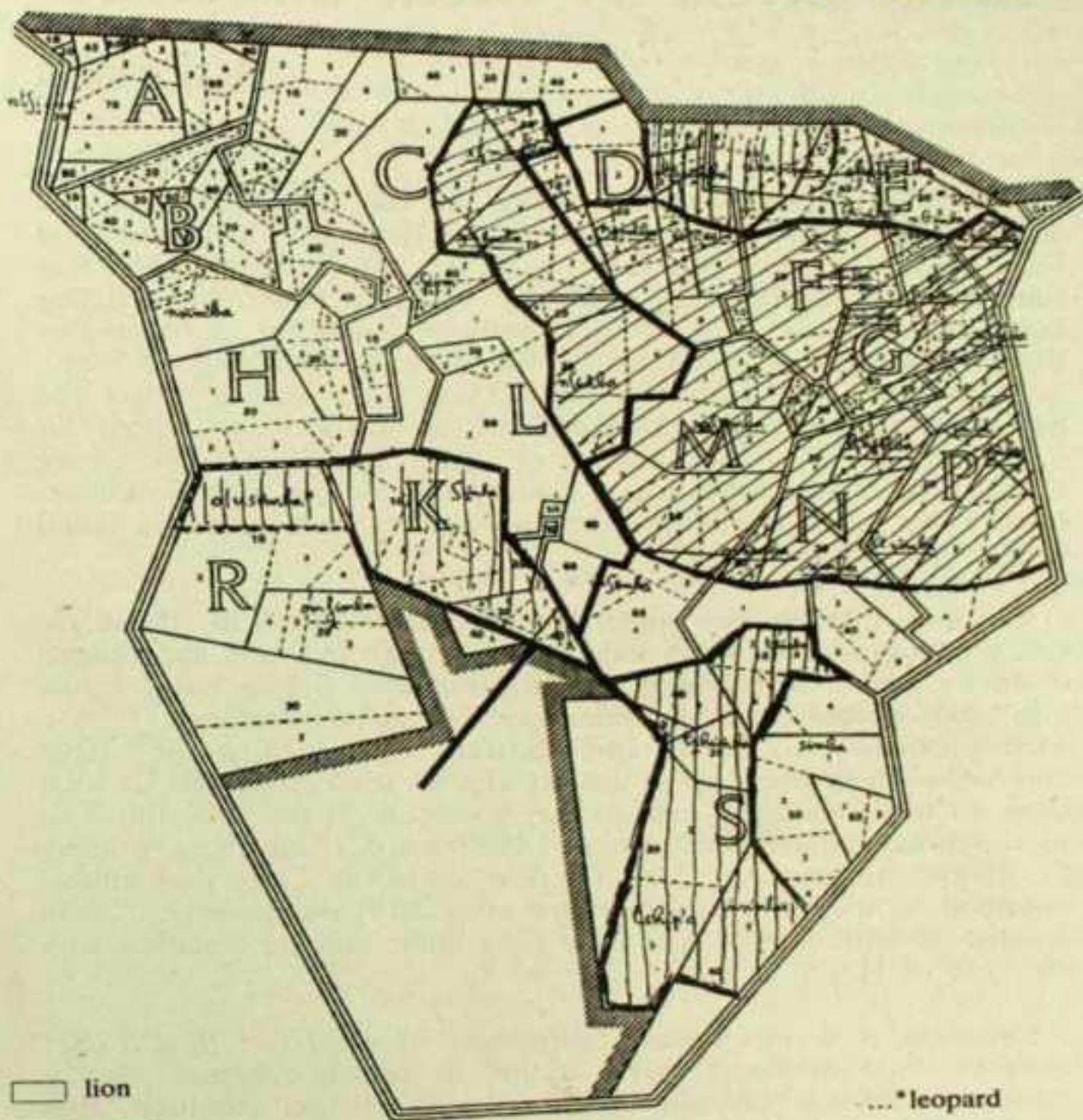
What is the plausibility of such an hypothesis?

First of all, one would have to account for the penetration far inland of an African term at a time when the Vedic Indians had not even reached the Ocean. To be sure, the latter must have been familiar with the lion in their original homeland—even if they lost the IE root **lew-* that designated the animal—and echoes of its cultural significance may still be found in the Rig Veda, e.g., V, 83.3, where the thunder in Parjanya's rainclouds is compared to the roaring of a lion, or X, 28.4, where Indra's words imply that the lion is ranking highest among the animals, above the fox (cf. Gamkrelidze—Ivanov, *op.cit.*, p. 510, fn. 1). Lions were, however, uncommon in the lands they crossed on their way to the subcontinent, where, again, they found another variety of lions of which about 250 still survive in the Gir Forest Sanctuary in Gujrat. Why, however, would these be called by a Bantu name? They were not imported from Africa, though they shared a common ancestor with the African lion many millennia ago (cf. O'Brien *et al.*, *loc.cit.*). Thus, the name could not have come with a new species introduced into the subcontinent.

Moreover, was there a East African "Wanderwort" like *simba*, meaning 'lion,' at the time of the composition of the Vedas? This question brings up the problem of the dating of the Bantuization of eastern Africa: it is now fairly well admitted that the original Bantu homeland is located in the Cross River basin near mount Cameroun, although there may be some differences of opinion as to the stages and timing of their migrations. A symposium organized by the French Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique in 1977 examined the linguistic and archeological aspects of the problem in detail (cf. Luc

Bouquiaux, ed., *L'expansion bantoue* [Paris : SELAF, 1980], 3 volumes). From these studies it would appear that eastern Africa was only occupied by Bantu immigrants around the beginning of the Christian era, some moving south in the coastal area between 200 and 400 A.D., but that the territory was not thoroughly settled until 1000—1100 A.D. (David A. Phillipson, "*L'expansion bantoue en Afrique orientale et méridionale : les témoignages de l'archéologie et de la linguistique*," in Bouquiaux, *op.cit.*, vol. 3, pp. 649—679, esp. pp. 671—675). Under those circumstances, there is no way a Bantu term could have reached India from the eastern coast of Africa as early as the end of the second millennium B.C. or the beginning of the first millennium B.C.

In conclusion, the resemblance between Vedic **simpháh** and Swahili **simba** 'lion' appears to be purely fortuitous and does not point to any etymological connection whatsoever.



- ☐ lion
- ☐ genet
- ☐ wild-cat

....*leopard
.....*blackmongoose

Proto-Bantu * * Cimbà



Hittite Etyma for Greek Obscuriora

Jaan Puhvel

For all the labor expended during the last century, and in the wake of the etymological dictionaries of Boisacq, Chantraine, and Frisk, "*unerklärt*" and "*ohne Etymologie*" remain distressingly frequent summations in the Friskian vocabulary. I am not thinking of puzzling *hapax legomena* or exotically opaque noun items but of reasonably well-known verbs attested from the Iliad onward, such as *paúō* 'stop', *ēpúō* 'cry out', and *nēēō* 'pile up'. Their hiatic shapes reflect the havoc that the phonological upheavals of Greek have created for etymology, but even the mastery of those complications by Georg Curtius and others more than a century ago did not bring solutions. Clearly the inventory of thitherto attested cognate languages failed to turn up lexical matches.

It is here that the new material from Hittite comes in. These are rich philological data which must be sifted, savored, and appreciated down to minute formal and semantic nuances, before being thrust into confrontation with potential extra-Anatolian cognates. I have tried previously¹ to define and illustrate what I think are viable approaches in this regard, as well as express reservations about what seem to be lamentable and cavalier shortcuts in the procedures of some scholars who practice Greek—Hittite lexical matching, notably O. Szemerényi and A.J. Van Windekens. In the Lines that follow, inscribed to the centenary memory of Irach Taraporewala, I shall attempt to extract *ēpúō* and *nēēō* from their obscure isolation with the help of Hittite etyma.

Loudness is a concomitant component of *ēpúō* (cf. *Iliad* 13.521 *briēpuos* 'loud-shouting'), but it is not the semantic kernel; that is rather the nuance 'cry out to' in order to compel attention, thus 'summon', and more specifically a medial 'call to account', with a juridical tinge (Arcadian *apuesthō o adikēmenos ton adikenta* 'let the wronged party call the wrongdoer to account'). The *ēpūta kēruχ* 'crier herald' of *Iliad* 7.384 is back-formed from *ēpúō* (aorist *ēpūsa*) (cf. *aūtē* from *aūsai* 'cry out'), which allows the verbal stem to be posited as **(H)āpus-(ye/o-)*. This stem matches the Hittite verb (*appa*) *hap(p)us(s)-*,² the meaning of which in the Hittite law code is 'reclaim' (from Lat. *reclamā-* 'cry out'!) in the sense of 'recover for use' (cf.



'reclamation project'), so that the participle **happusant-** means 'second-hand' (**KBo** VI 26 II 48 **ŠA TÚG happusandas 12 GÍN KÙ. BABBAR** '[the price] of a second-hand dress [is] twelve shekels silver', vs. thirty shekels for a **TÚG SIG** 'fine dress'). From there the term has become conventionalized as roughly 'do over, rerun', and in administrative lingo 'bring up, make up for, resume, reschedule', used especially referring to old rituals and neglected festivals or offerings (which they then frequently 2-**ŠU hapussanzi** 'make up for twofold'). In this way a subtle semantic technicalization has made the Hittite verb veer away from the 'outcry' of its outset, even as 'loud(ly)' is no longer an intrinsic part of the semanteme of English 'claim' (which can be internalized or made on a piece of paper). Greek *ēpúō* has stayed closer to the 'hue and cry' of the primary setting, but there too the legal summoning process was evolving away from shouted decibels to mere process-serving. There are lessons here for the vagaries of evolution of abstract and technical vocabulary, a proper appreciation of which will nevertheless let us glimpse the underlying proto-form.³

Nēēō is a mere wreck of a verb, inferrable from the Iliadic imperfect 3 sg. *nēēi* (*Iliad* 23.169, where Achilles 'piled' flayed animal corpses around Patroklos' body on the pyre) and 3 pl. *nēēon* (*ibid.* 139 and 163 *nēēon hūlēn* 'they piled wood' for the pyre; *Iliad* 24.276 'they piled' on a wagon the ransom for Hektor's corpse), and indirectly from the aorist *nēēsas* (*Iliad* 9.358 *nēēsas eū nēas* 'after loading up the ships'). The Homeric *enēneon* (*Iliad* 7.428 *nekroús purkaiēs epenēneon* 'they piled corpses on the pyre'; *Odyssey* 1.147 *siton parenēneon* 'they piled up food') is not a reduplicated aorist but a more archaic imperfect ***en-e-Hnes-** with preverb and augment, from ***en-nēō** 'pack in, load up'. As such it may be compared with the Hittite verb (**anda**) **han(n)es(s)-** which has a technical sense of 'plaster' in medical and constructional contexts, and also a figurative meaning 'lay in profusely, pile on' (e.g. blessings such as wealth and lordliness). Just as a wall was something 'poured' (**kutt-**; cf. Gk. *khutē gála* 'earth-heap'), and a fortress or stronghold was literally a 'jamming' (**sahessar**)*, **haneswar** was a 'packing' or 'piling' of material on surfaces so as to cover them, perhaps earlier mortar on earth buttresses, later on 'plastering' in a more refined sense. The constructional variation between Greek and Hittite ('pile corpses on a pyre': 'ply a wall with plaster') is of a well-known type (cf. e.g. Lat. *mactare victimam deo* 'sacrifice a victim to a god' besides *mactare deum victima* 'ply a god with sacrifice') which creeps into Greek itself ('pile corpses on a pyre', but also 'load up ships' [with whatever]). In Hittite, too, plastering of body-parts, houses, walls, water-tanks, and drainpipes is done with material in the instrumental case (wax,



clay, mortar, etc.), but in the figurative exhortations the older construction lingers: 'pile on long years, pile on wealth!'). In this manner **en-néō* and (anda) *han(n)es-* point jointly to an IE **Hnes-* with the meaning 'pile on, pack in', even as Gk. *āpúō* and Hitt. *hap(p)us-* presuppose a **Hāpus-* 'cry out', similar in stem type to Gk. *odússasthai* 'be wroth' and Hitt. *hatuk-* 'be terrible' pointing to **Hodug-**. The constructional variation may be present in *āpúō* and *hap(p)us-* as well, for the thrust in Hittite is 'cry out for' > 'lay claim to' (something that is due), whereas in Greek it is 'cry out against' > 'call to account' (someone about something owed). These examples indicate how deeply the semantics of etymology may be hidden in the thickets of textual philology.

Notes

¹"Homeric Questions and Hittite Answers", *American Journal of Philology* 104 (1983) 217-227.

²The alternative scriptio difficilior *ha-ap-pu-us-* clinches the case for etymological **p* under "Sturtevant's law" (its converse being less reliable, for a single spelling, however consistent, is always suspect as a scriptio facilior; therefore e.g. Hitt. *hapus-* 'penis' is nevertheless best connected with *hap(p)essar* 'attachment, limb', cognate with Lat. *aptus* 'joined', *cōpula* 'bond').

³A.J. Van Windekens (*Essays in Historical Linguistics in Memory of J.A. Kerns* [Amsterdam, 1981] 336) compared *hap(p)us(s)-* with Gk. *pauō* 'stop', positing a proto-meaning 'put off, tarry'; but the Hittite attestations are the very semantic opposite of 'put off, omit, overlook, neglect', they relate to the rehabilitation of disuse and mismanagement.

⁴Cf. my remarks on this subject in *Florilegium Anatolicum. Mélanges offerts à Emmanuel Laroche* (Paris, 1979) 301 = *Analecta Indoeuropaea* (Innsbruck, 1981) 369.

⁵See further Jaan Puhvel, *Hittite Etymological Dictionary* 1-2 (Berlin, 1984) 267.

⁶Cf. Jaan Puhvel, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 37 (1980) 203.



A marginal note on Sanskrit case-syntax

Haiim B. Rosén

A fitting tribute to the memory of Irach J. S. Taraporewala might be a modest, more illustrative than supplementary, note to one of the paragraphs of his *Sanskrit Syntax*, which may—in spite of its compactness—well be considered one of the most sober, lucid and insightful presentations of its subject.

While he states (o.c. 48) that “the domain of the dative has been particularly strongly invaded by the genitive”, so that, in general, “it is really impossible to classify properly the uses of this case without considerable overlapping” (49), Taraporewala rightly judges it to be “best to consider the grammatical aspect of the genitive first”, and subsequently resorts to a “classification *depending upon the idea involved*”,... for it is only by the latter method that we apprehend the rich domain of ideas covered by this case and appreciate the working of the human mind” (49). Taking this path of thought which no adjective would more properly describe than the term “structural”, Taraporewala avoids the pitfall of presenting a grammatically functional element in view of its translational equivalent or equivalents in more current languages, and—in the case in point—does not exhibit a distinct “meaning” or “function” of the genitive which, in quite a few other grammars, has been traditionally named “*genitivus pro dativo*”, although (52) he accounts for a usage which would, in a different way of presentation, quite easily come under that heading : “the... usual way [to indicate ‘possession’ like the English verb ‘to have’] is to use what is called the ‘predicative genitive’; he thus presents a syntactic construction that would valence-wise correspond to *mihi est*, while a valentially different verbal root *dʰr-* is much rarer and, above all, not applicable in the present tense,³ which would correspond to the normal copulaless use of the predicative genitive construction. Transposing a Latin sentence (or, for that matter, one in Greek, Russian, Hebrew, Coptic, or many a “*be-language*”) involving a *mihi est*-type grammatical predicate, one would have to introduce a Sanskrit genitive “for” the original dative. This results from a certain typological difference in the syntax of the languages compared which I have had occasion to expound in an earlier study⁴ : there are languages in which the predicative expression for possession is, inasmuch as case is concerned, the same as the attributive one, e.g.

Turk. *paras-I* "his money" vs. *paras-I var* "he has money", and there are others, in which the adnominal possessive case does not coincide with the predicative one, precisely like Latin :

pecunia patris vs. *est pecunia patri*,

while *pecunia patris est* does not express the FACT of possession, but the IDENTITY of a possessor, whose being "in possession" of whatever is concerned has already been established. In some languages, both types of syntactic relation are, in certain given conditions, legitimate ;

Fr. *Jean a l'argent* vs. *l'argent de Jean*, but also

Cet exemplaire est à moi, in view of *un ami à moi* ; Hom. Gr. *hetairós* "my friend" vs. *hetairós esti moi* "I have a friend"

It would appear that in Sanskrit such a duplicity of construction does not prevail, in the sense that—in the predicative as well as in the attributive nexus—the genitive (rather than the dative, as in the languages from which the above examples have been quoted) is used.⁷ Examples abound ; to quote one or two from Taraporewala, l.c. ; **Buddhir yasya, balam tasya. Dewā Arjunasyasyāb'awan.** (his rendering : "Arjuna had the gods on his side.")

Having thus accounted for a genitive as a means of expression for a "possessor" (in a very broad sense of this term) without expressly limiting the validity of his statement to any specific syntactic status, Taraporewala may have been right in not going any further into the spectrum of the possible grammatical connections of the possessive genitive. However, other grammarians, whose being non-indigenous may have misled (*sic !*) them into supporting their presentation by ethnocentric semantic considerations, situated the "having"-genitive in a different, sometimes broader context, viz that of the "Genetiv an Stelle des (zu erwartenden) Dativs"⁸ or a "dative-like genitive" ; but it is precisely this context which may be worth-while looking into if we wish to assess the *valeur* of the Sanskrit genitive in a wider Indo-European perspective.

The circumscription of the area of correspondence of the Sanskrit genitive and the dative of other Indo-European tongues, apart from what may be perceived as properly "possessive" at first sight, may be viewed in the light of the following somewhat *gauche* "remark" by Speijer (o.c. 99) included in the concluding paragraphs of his treatment of the genitive :



In Latin, with such turns as *adimo vestem servo* or *servi, civium* or *civibus dolor auotus est*, the dative and the genitive are both available. Sanskrit invariably uses the genitive.

In these phrases, which could have been given, as a matter of fact in any other extra-Indo-Iranian Indo-European language, the dative is involved (optionally in this case, as Speijer has correctly observed) in a function which is obviously not its "normal" adverbial one, and in which it fulfils, as has been first recognized by Wilhelm Havers in his *Untersuchungen zur Kasussyntax in den indogermanischen Sprachen*, a function properly vested in the genitive by the mere ADNOMINAL character of its syntactic employ; this type of dative, given by Havers the surprising, but now commonly used name of "*dativus sympatheticus*"¹⁰), functions in a semantic domain which we shall set presently forth, in a manner otherwise typical of the genitive, obligatorily as a personal pronoun, but facultatively otherwise (a fact that accounts for the variation in the Latin expressions cited by Speijer, which do not involve these pronouns). A translation, say into German or Latin, of the Sanskrit examples appended by Speijer to his general statement could easily illustrate the sympathetic dative : *Na hi simhasya suptasya prawicanti mūk'e mṛgāḥ*. Panc. II. 141. "Nicht treten Hirschkühe einem schlafenden Löwen ins Maul hinein." "Leoni dormienti in os non intro eunt ceruae."—*Hiranyako pi Mant'arakasya praṇāmaṁ kṛtvā...* ibid. 145. "ja, wie H. derr. M. Ehrerbietung erwiesen hatte....". The term "genitivus pro dativo" used in the description of Sanskrit case-syntax, is as Germano- or Latino-centric as could be. Old Indic differs from the rest of ancient Indo-European in that—in the former—the optionality of the sympathetic dative outside the pronominal domain is not made use of.¹¹

We have had occasion¹² to show that the adnominal possessive dative, as it should be properly called, is operative in the semantic domain of inalienable (or inseparable) possession, appurtenance or other relational notions; this is valid also for sentences which describe the abolishment of such appurtenance by means of a verb of "taking away", "depriving", "warding off" or the like¹³, the objects being "taken away", "warded off" etc., intrinsically and essentially appertaining to their "possessor" cf. the Latin example quoted above, involving the verb *adimere*¹⁴. It is appropriate to add at this juncture that in languages in which an identity between the attributive and the predicative possessional construction applies optionally, i.e. conditionally,¹⁵ the constructions are identical only if the "possessum" belong to a semantic field included—in the language concerned—in the "inalienable" category¹⁶.

What, consequently, singles Sanskrit out of the rest of ancient Indo-European is the fact that the existence of a sympathetic dative in nominal syntax cannot be assessed for it, and that for that matter, it has no "possessive" dative at all ; apart from predicative possessive constructions, the class of "genitives used instead of, or in the sense of, datives" concerns what would be, in another language, a sympathetic and no other dative. Whether this cogently necessitates a re-identification (as advocated by Haudry¹⁷ of the pronominal forms **me** and **te**, which Havers had presented as (sympathetic) datives, as genitive forms (in spite of considerable inconvenience on the comparative level, since **me**, **te** correspond to GK. *moi*, *toi* as ***moi**, ***toi**), we shall discuss below in the context of the examination of the diachronic questions involved. On the other hand, we have still to enquire whether the situation as sketched is tantamount to there being no distinction whatsoever in Sanskrit between marked inalienable and unmarked "possession".

This does not seem to be the case. If we try to assess the Indo-European situation in this respect on the grounds of our findings for Homeric Greek, the significant difference observed in that form of language between the expression for the two types of possession in the domain of the 1st and 2nd person (e.g., clitic or tonic *moi* vs. clitic or tonic genitival *meu* with adjectival *emós*¹⁸ as neutral term) apparently corresponds in Indic to an opposition between the clitics **me**, **te** and the tonic **mama**, **tawa**, and their plural pendants, respectively, as UNMARKED terms on the one hand, and the MARKED compound-initial components **mad-**, **twad-** etc. on the other hand. A scrutiny of the lexical inventory reveals that the latter, unless used in the **wedawid** type (e.g. **twānit** "hating you") or in exocentric possessive compounds (such as **twādūtas** "having you for a messenger", **matkṛtam** "what I have done", **twayatam** "what you have presented") strongly tend to combine, or combine only, with nominal expressions of the "inalienable" class ; thus :

the body (or personality) or its parts or constituents : **maddehas**, **madb^hāwas** ;

physical or mental actions : **madwacanam**, **madart^has**, **yusmadart^ham** ;

kinship terms, social or other human relations : **madwargīyas**, **matsak^his**, ***twatputras** "your son" (reconstructable from **twātputrās**, "a group of persons connected with your son") ;

personally owned objects : **twadgrham** ;

relative positions : **matsamaxam**¹⁹ ;

acts relative to which the pronominal component denotes the



recipient : **matsamdeśas** "the fact of indicating me," **twadb^hayam** "fear of you", **maccittas** "one thinking (or ; having thought) of me".

Having thus increased the likelihood of an assumption of the existence of a feature of "appurtenance" in the semantic structure of Sanskrit, we can easily introduce a rather essential division in the class of *genitivi "pro" dativis* : a. those used "instead of" a dative used in other languages ; b. those used "instead of" a dative with which they vary freely INSIDE Sanskrit. Grammatically, there is a clearcut difference between the two : the syntactic environment in which (a) occurs can be described by means of a class of SUBSTANTIVES (the "relative" nouns with reference to which appurtenance is valid), while a statement for the environment of (b) can only be made in terms of a list of VERBS. As it has become clear that the first-named class is related to appurtenance, we shall now look into the other one²⁰ ; verbs thus construed, more frequently than not trivalential, are, *inter alia* : compounds of **dadāti**, **yacc^hati** "grant", **k^hyāti**, **kat^hayati**, **nayati**, **darśayati**, compounds of **deśayti**, **kupyati**. None of these involves or creates any relation of inseparability or appurtenance.

It might be considered commonplace that a situation of free variation prevails in a transitory period between two stages of development. In our case, we have to enquire whether the dative involved in the situation of variation is the residue of an earlier *état de langue* or the first step of a new situation. Every author considering the genitive mentions in this context the gradual disappearance of the dative from classical language and its total replacement, already in the earlier Prakrits, by the genitive, a fact which is thought to explain the already classical use of the genitive "for" the dative, which is to be "expected" taking into account the rest of Indo-European. If one adds to this the probable existence of a categorial distinction between the inalienable and all other possession, one must bear in mind that the variation described pertains with relation to the unmarked term of that opposition, and must consequently in all likelihood be considered to be the incipient stage of a development which replaces an older means of expression (i.e. the dative) no longer used in marked environments by a new one which has taken over. Our assumption is consequently that, in an earlier stage, Sanskrit had had like all other ancient Indo-European languages a possessive dative. Also considering that pronominal case-syntax (and, for that matter, also case-inflexion), one may safely assume that older means of expression has disappeared from substantival use earlier than from pronominal one, the latter having preserved the possessive dative longer than the former ; this preservation has been more stable in a marked term (in our case : appurtenance), so that



the formal element of the earlier stage is recognizable only in that category, while the new form, the genitive, took over as the marked term and subsequently encroached (starting from the "sympathetic" environment in which its use was obligatory) upon the area earlier typically reserved for datives, with which it began to vary freely. In other words, the possessive dative, a real "*sympatheticus*" persists in personal pronouns, while it is no longer attested historically for other nominal entities. We may hereby find the justification for upholding the identification of *me*, *te* as datives according to Havers. In comparison with the rest of Indo-European, even with some living languages, Sanskrit, while showing in principle the same syntactic phenomena as the former, appears to find itself in a more "advanced" stage of development in the area of the expression of possessional and appurtenant relations than the other languages. It may not be absurd to conjecture that non-Indo-European languages spoken in the Indian area may have catalysed such an evolution.

Notes

- 1) Citing Pāṇini's (II.3.62) in this context.
- 2) His italics.
- 3) In Rgvedic language, at least, a basic-stem perfect *dādāra* functions suppletively with respect to the causative formation *dārayati*, but neither expresses yet a naturally possessive notion.
- 4) *Lingua* 8 (1959) 285 (= *Strukturalgrammatische Beiträge zum Verständnis Homers* [Amsterdam 1968, München 1984] 33; East and West, Selected Writings in Linguistics I, 346).
- 5) In the function of Lat. *patris est*.
- 6) Cf. my study cited in note 4, *passim*.
- 7) Speijer, *Sanskrit Syntex* 96ff.; Haudry, *L'emploi des cas en védique* 59.
- 8) Delbrück, *Alt. Syntax* 162.
- 9) Speijer, *l.o.*
- 10) "Ich nenne den mit dem Genitiv im Austausch stehenden Dativ 'Dativus sympatheticus' im Anschluß an die Bemerkung von Gildersleeve zu Pindar Pyth. III 46 *anthrôpoisin iasthai nôsous anthrôposin* sympathetic than '*anthrôpôn*' (Havers, *o.c.* 2).
- 11) Havers, *o.c.* 44.



- ¹²⁾ *Lingua* 8 (1959) 279 (= *Strukturalgrammatische Beiträge zum Verständnis Homers* [Amsterdam 1968, München 1984] 27 ; East and West, Selected Writings in Linguistics I, 340).
- ¹³⁾ Havers's "Kategorie IV" o.c. 4).
- ¹⁴⁾ Above, p. 35.
- ¹⁵⁾ Above, p. ***
- ¹⁶⁾ *Lingua* 8 (1959) 285 (= *Strukturalgrammatische Beiträge zum Verständnis Homers* [Amsterdam 1968, München 1984] 33 ; East and West, Selected Writings in Linguistics I, 346).
- ¹⁷⁾ O.c. 69f.: "Cette observation engage à refuser l'interprétation que donne Havers des formes *me* et *te* comme d'anciens datifs." (cf. also o.c. 75).
- ¹⁸⁾ The equivalent of which is "almost never" used in Sanskrit ; Delbrück, o.c. (note 8) 151.—I feel tempted to append here a caption added to a humorous sketch in a German newspaper. The drawing showed a lady washing her wig over a washbasin ; she says : "*Ich kann noch nicht ; kommen ; ich muß noch meine Haare waschen.*" The use of the possessive adjective clearly indicates that it is her "alienable" hair she is washing ; if her own hair were concerned, the use of the sympathetic dative would have been compulsory ; *ich muß mir noch die Haare waschen.*—One of those jokes that cannot be translated.
- ¹⁹⁾ I transcribe \times by what is traditionally written *kṣ* ; the reasons behind this and the rest of the orthographical idiosyncrasies of a more obvious character apparent in the present article are set out in a study due to appear in the *Journal of Indo-European Studies*.
- ²⁰⁾ Speijer, o.c. 99f. ; the author tends to consider the genitive as a stylistic variant of the dative.
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Le grec mycénien

Sur les mots comportant la racine *ar-*

C. J. Ruijgh

[Dans la transcription des mots grecs ϵ et η représentent les voyelles longues fermées, qui à partir de l'époque classique sont notées par **epsilon + iota** et **omicron + upsilon** ; par conséquent, **ei** et **ou** ne représentent que les diphthongues originelles.—La lettre **z** répond à la valeur de $\alpha\alpha$ pour le mycénien, mais à celle de $\alpha\delta$ pour l'ionien—attique classique.—Les tirets obliques /.../ servent à marquer l'interprétation phonologique de la graphie mycénienne dont la transcription précède.]

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B. Les mots grecs comportant la racine *ar-* ; § 6. Les formes du verbe *ar-* ; l'emploi sémantique de *ar-*. § 7. *a-ra-ru-wo-a*, *arērōs* ; le participe parfait en *wōs*.— § 8. *a-rā-ru-ja*, *araruia* ; *a-ni-ja*, *hēnía*.— § 9. *a-me-no*, *Ármenos ármena*. § 10. *a-mo* 'roue à rayons', *hármata* 'char'.— § 11. L'explication du suffixe *-mo* doublet de *-ma*.— § 12. *a-mo-te-wo*, *a-mo-te-wi-ja*, *a-mo-te-jo-na-de* type *k^halk-eón*— *a-mo-ta-jo*.— § 13. *a-ra-ro-mo-te-me-na*, *a-na-mo-to*, *harmóto*.— § 14. *harmós* *a-mo-te-re*, *harmostér* ; *a-mo-ke-re[-we]*, *Harmokúdes*.— § 15. *harmós* ; les noms *mó-* *smó*.— § 16. Le problème phonétique que pose *harmós*, issu de **arśmós*. § 17. Les origines du suffixe *-smó*.— § 18. *ka-ka-re-a*, *k^halkērēs*.— § 19. L'accentuation des composés en *-ēs* ; *e-u-wa-re*, *Euērēs*.— § 20. *a-to-mo*, *art^hmós* ; le suffixe verbal *-t^h* *-et^h*.— § 21. *a-to-po-qo-*, *artokópos*, *ártos* etc.— § 22. *a-ri-to* *áristos* *a-roz-a* *areíōn* ; le comparatif en *-yos*.— § 23. *ari-*, *a-ri-we-we*, *a-ri-wo*, *a-ri-ja-wo* ; *eri-*, *e-ri-ke-re-we* etc. ; *eús* ; *ára*.— § 24. *aretá* *a-re-ta-wo*.— § 25. *Arétōsa* *a-re-to-to* ; *arés^hkō* *a-re-ta*.— § 26. Conclusion.

§ 1. C'est avec plaisir que nous avons accepté d'écrire un article sur le grec mycénien pour honorer la mémoire du professeur Irach J.S. Taraporewala, organisateur du **Department of Comparative Philology** de l'université de Calcutta. À côté du sanskrit, le grec a toujours joué un rôle cardinal dans la grammaire comparée dès le début des

études indo-européennes, pour lesquelles le **Rgveda** et l'épopée homérique étaient les plus anciens textes conservés. Au premier quart de notre siècle, le déchiffrement du hittite cunéiforme a fait connaître une nouvelle langue indo-européenne, dont les textes les plus anciens datent du XVI^e siècle av. J.-C. Grâce au déchiffrement de l'écriture linéaire B par M. Ventris en 1952, on connaît maintenant des textes grecs qui datent également du second millénaire av. J.-C., à savoir du XIV^e et du XIII^e siècle, et qui sont donc antérieurs à l'épopée homérique d'environ cinq siècles. Désormais, le linguiste peut suivre l'histoire de la langue grecque à travers trente-quatre siècles, du XIV^e siècle av. J.-C. jusqu'à l'époque actuelle.

Les textes en linéaire B appartiennent à la comptabilité des palais mycéniens, qui constituaient les centres de la civilisation mycénienne. C'est pourquoi on désigne le dialecte grec de ces textes par le terme de 'mycénien'. La plupart d'eux figurent sur des tablettes en argile, qui ont été trouvées en Grèce dans les complexes palatiaux de Mycènes, de Pylos, de Thèbes et de Tirynthe et aussi en Crète dans celui de Cnossos. L'écriture linéaire B est une forme adaptée de l'écriture linéaire A, employée en Crète par les Minoens dès la première moitié du second millénaire. Il est probable qu'au début de l'époque mycénienne, donc au XVI^e siècle av. J.-C., les administrateurs des palais mycéniens l'ont empruntée aux Minoens, peuple crétois dont la langue n'était sans doute pas indo-européenne. Comme le linéaire B ne s'employait que dans l'administration palatiale, on comprend qu'il n'ait pas pu survivre à la destruction des palais mycéniens vers 1200 av. J.-C. Quelques siècles plus tard, les Grecs ont emprunté l'écriture alphabétique aux Phéniciens.

§ 2. L'écriture linéaire B est syllabique. Chaque signe est un syllabogramme qui répond en principe à une syllabe ouverte constituée d'une seule consonne et d'une voyelle'. Bien entendu, il y a des signes pour les syllabes **a**, **e**, **i**, **o**, **u** (sans consonne initiale), qui peuvent constituer le début d'un mot ; exemple : **e-pi** /epi/ 'auprès de', mot dont la graphie comporte donc deux syllabogrammes. L'écriture n'exprime pas la quantité vocalique ; exemple : **do-ke** /dôke/, 'il livra' vis-à-vis de **de-do-me-na** /dedoména/ 'livré' (nom.plur.ntr.). Elle n'exprime pas la distinction entre les liquides **r** et **l** ; exemple : **pe-di-ra** /pédila/, 'sandales' vis-à-vis de **do-ra** /dôra/ 'dons'. Sauf dans le cas de **d** (**do-ra**), elle n'exprime pas la distinction entre les consonnes sonores et les sourdes ; exemple : **a-ko-ra** /agorâ/ 'collection' vis-à-vis de **ko-ru** /kôrus/ 'casque'. De même, elle ne distingue pas les consonnes aspirées des consonnes non aspirées ; exemple : **pe-re** /p'érei/ 'il porte' vis-à-vis de **pe-da** /pedâ/ 'vers, à'. Elle ne distingue pas non plus 'h + voyelle' de 'voyelle sans consonne

précédente' ; exemple : **o-te** /*hótel* 'lorsque' vis-à-vis de **o-no** /*ónas* 'âne'. Elle exprime toujours le son de transition y ou w qui se développe automatiquement entre la voyelle i ou u et une autre voyelle ; exemple : **ri-jo** /*R^híon* 'promontoire' (toponyme), **ku-wa-no** /*kúanas* 'email bleu foncé'. Les diphtongues à second élément u sont notées à l'aide du syllabogramme u ; exemple : **a-ro-u-ra** /*ároural* 'terre arable'. Celles à second élément i, en revanche, ne sont que rarement notées à l'aide du signe i : le plus souvent, le segment en question fait défaut dans la graphie ; exemple : **po-me** /*poimén* 'berger'.

Comme le syllabaire ne comporte en principe que des signes pour des syllabes ouvertes commençant par une seule consonne, l'écriture ne peut pas exprimer les consonnes finales et les consonnes suivies d'une consonne d'une manière univoque. Elle omet simplement les consonnes finales, c'est-à-dire -s -n -r, le grec ayant perdu les occlusives finales ; exemples : **ko-ru** /*kórus* **ri-jo** /*R^híon* **pa-te** /*patēr* 'père'. Elle omet également le premier segment d'un groupe géminé (type *pp pp^h*) ; exemple : **po-pi** /*popp^hi* 'avec les pieds' (instr. plur. de *pod-*). Abstraction faite de ce cas, les occlusives suivies d'une consonne sont presque toujours notées par le syllabogramme répondant à la voyelle que précède le groupe de consonnes ; exemples : **ti-ri-si** /*trisi* 'pour trois', **a-re-ku-tu-ru-wo** /*Alektruón* 'coq' (anthroponyme). Comme la voyelle notée par le syllabogramme ne se prononce pas dans cet emploi, on la désigne par le terme de 'voyelle morte'. La sifflante est le plus souvent omise devant une occlusive, mais notée à l'aide d'une voyelle morte devant une consonne sonante (*m, w*) ; exemples : **wa-tu** /*wástu* 'ville', **de-so-mo** /*desmós* 'lien'. Les nasales sont omises devant une obstruante mais notées devant une consonne sonante ; exemples : **pa-te** /*pántes* 'tous', **pa-si** /*pánsi* 'pour tous', **de-mi-ni-ja** /*démnia* 'lits'. Les liquides sont le plus souvent omises devant consonne (sauf devant y) ; exemples : **to-pe-ze** /*tórpeza* 'table', **pe-ma** /*spérma* 'semence', **ko-wo** /*kórwasi* 'garçon'. La semi-voyelle w s'exprime toujours devant consonne (*wr-* initial) ; exemple : **wi-ri-no** /*wrínós* 'peau de boeuf'.

Devant w la voyelle morte est plus souvent u, voyelle homorgane de la semi-voyelle w, que la voyelle répondant à la voyelle qui suit w ; ainsi, /*ksénwios* 'appartenant aux hôtes' s'écrit tantôt **ke-se-nu-wi-jo** tantôt **ke-se-ni-wi-jo**. Devant y, la voyelle morte est obligatoirement i ; ainsi, le théonyme *Díwya* (orig. 'épouse de Zeus') s'écrit **di-wi-ja**, non pas **†di-wa-ja**. Dans le cas du groupe final 'occlusive + s', l'occlusive est exprimée par le syllabogramme répondant à la voyelle précédente ; exemple : **wa-na-ka** /*wánaks* 'roi'.

À côté des syllabogrammes primaires dont nous venons de parler,



le syllabaire comporte un petit nombre de syllabogrammes secondaires. D'une part, il y a quelques signes dont la valeur est plus spécifique que celle du signe primaire correspondant. Ainsi, on trouve pour le mot *élaiwon* 'huile' tant la graphie **e-ra-wo** que la graphie **e-ra₃-wo**, qui comporte le signe **ra₃** doublet du signe **ra**. La valeur spécifique du signe **ra₃** consiste à exprimer explicitement la diphtongue *ai* de la syllabe *rai* ou *tai*. De même, le signe **a₃** exprime explicitement cette diphtongue ; exemple : **a₃-sa** /*aísa*/ 'portion, lot'. Le signe **a₁** exprime *ha* ; exemple : **a₁-te-ro** /*háteros*/ 'l'un des deux'. Le signe **pu₂** exprime *p^hu* ou *bu*, à l'exclusion de *ph* ; exemple : **pu₂-te-re** /*p^hutères*/ 'planteurs'.— D'autre part, il y a quelques syllabogrammes à valeur complexe, constituée de deux consonnes et d'une voyelle. Ainsi, on trouve pour le mot *pteléwa* 'orme' tant la graphie **pe-te-re-wa** que **pte-re-wa**. Abstraction faite du signe **pte**, les syllabogrammes de cette catégorie ont la valeur 'consonne + semi-voyelle (y ou w) + voyelle' : **dwo**, **ryo** (transcription **ro₂**), **tya** (transcription **ta₂**), etc.

§ 3. La découverte du grec mycénien permet souvent de vérifier des reconstructions faites dans le cadre de la grammaire comparée des dialectes grecs et des langues indo-européennes. Le plus souvent, les faits mycéniens prouvent que les reconstructions généralement admises sont correctes. Cela montre que la théorie et les méthodes de la linguistique diachronique sont essentiellement correctes. D'après la théorie, qui remonte aux néo-grammairiens du dernier quart du XIX^e siècle, les changements linguistiques appartiennent à trois catégories : celle des changements phonétiques, celle des actions analogiques et celle des emprunts. Voici quelques exemples mycéniens :

Avant le déchiffrement du linéaire B, on expliquait le mot homérique *heanós* 'vêtement' comme aboutissement phonétique de **wehanós* < **wesanós* nom dérivé de la racine *wes-* 'vêtir' (skr. *vāste* 'il s'habille' lat. *vestis* 'vêtement', etc.). La graphie mycénienne **we-a₁-no** exprime la forme *wehanós* si bien que désormais, il faut omettre l'astérisque devant cette forme. Le changement intervocalique *s* > *h* est donc un fait accompli en mycénien, mais la disparition de *h* intervocalique lui est postérieure. Le mycénien maintient la consonne *w* dans toutes les positions.—On expliquait le mot homérique *aikmé* 'pointe d'une lance' à partir de **aik^hsmá* < **aiksmá*, forme maintenant attestée par la graphie mycénienne **a₁-ka-sa-ma**. Il apparaît qu'en mycénien, *s* était encore intact entre deux consonnes.—On expliquait le suffixe *-éo-* des adjectifs de matière du type attique *k^halkós* 'en bronze' *q̄* < *-eo-* à partir de **-eyo-* à cause de skr. *-āya-* (*hiranyāya-* 'en or'). Le mycénien présente effectivement le *y* intervocalique dans des formes comme **wi-ri-ne-jo** /*wrínéyos*/ 'en cuir'. D'autre part, on trouve aussi des formes comme **wi-ri-ne-o** /*wrínéhos*/ ce qui montre



qu'à l'époque des tablettes, *y* intervocalique était déjà en train de changer en *h*. Après consonne sonante, *y* était encore entièrement intact ; ainsi, **ku-pa-ro₂** *kúparyos* 'souchet' n'avait pas encore abouti à *kúpairos* (forme dorienne). — Puis, les labiovélares étaient encore intacts en mycénien ; exemples : —**qe** *k^he* 'et' (att. *te* enclitique ; lat. **-que**, skr. **ca**), **qo-o** /g^hōns/ 'boeufs' (acc. plur. ; cf. acc. sing *bôn*, forme homérique parallèle à skr. *gām*)³.

De même, les données morphologiques mycéniennes confirment le plus souvent les reconstructions de la grammaire comparée. Ainsi, le mycénien conserve encore l'instrumental comme cas distinct du datif-locatif, du moins au pluriel de la flexion athématique. Il s'agit de formes comme **po-pi** /pop-p^hi/ 'avec les pieds' (skr. **pad-bhīh**). Dans le cader du langage artificiel de la tradition épique, Homère utilise encore des formes en -p^hi, mais purement pour des raisons métriques. Le caractère artificiel de son usage de -p^hi est évident : la forme en -p^hi équivant tantôt au datif tantôt au génitif, non seulement au pluriel mais aussi au singulier (R. 1979 a : 80-82). — Tandis qu'au premier millénaire, la désinence du datif singulier est toujours -i- après consonne, le mycénien, présente plus souvent le type **ka-ke-we** /k^halk^hēwi/ pour le forgeron' que le type **ka-ke-wi** /k^halkēwi/. La valeur des deux désinences -ei et -i est identique : elles expriment tant celle du datif originel que celle du locatif (syncrétisme des deux cas ; le proto-indo-européen employait -ey (skr. -e) pour le datif, -i pour le locatif.

Bien entendu, il arrive que les données mycéniennes obligent à abandonner telle reconstruction. Ainsi, on a souvent expliqué la préposition *héneka* (avec le génitif) 'dans le but de, en vue de' à partir d'un juxtaposé **en wéka* 'pour la volonté de', où **wéka* serait l'accusatif d'un nom racine **wek-* (cf. l'ancien participe *wekōn* 'qui agit volontairement' ; skr. *vāsmi* 'je souhaite'). Dans ce cadre, on voyait dans *héneka* chez Homère l'aboutissement phonétique de **énweka*. Or, la graphie mycénienne **e-ne-ka** prouve que, *éneka*⁴ n'a jamais comporté de groupe -nw-. Désormais, il faut expliquer *éneka* comme adverbe en -a < *-ŋ (type *ôka* 'vite' ; R. 1980) dérivé de la racine *enek-* < **h₁nek-* 'porter jusqu' au bout' (cf. *podēnekēs* 'qui atteint les pieds, qui va jusqu' aux pieds' ; skr. *nāsati* 'il atteint'). Dans la forme homérique *hénka* la voyelle longue est donc due à un allongement métrique. Désormais, on comprend pourquoi la forme à voyelle brève se rencontre elle aussi fréquemment chez Homère.

§ 4. Les exemples donnés ci-dessus montrent que le mycénien est intermédiaire entre le grec du premier millénaire av. J.-C. et le proto-indo-européen. Hâtons-nous d'ajouter, cependant, que le mycé-

nien est beaucoup plus proche du grec postérieur que du proto-indo-européen reconstruit. La plupart des traits caractéristiques du grec sont déjà présents dans la langue des tablettes. Ainsi, le changement $s > h$ (s initial devant voyelle, s intervocalique, groupes ' s + sonante' et ' s + sonante non liquide + s ') est déjà un fait accompli en mycénien ; exemples : **e-ke** /*hék^hei*/ 'il a' (skr. *sáhate* 'il vaine, il résiste'), **we-a₂-no** /*wehanás*/ 'vêtement' (§ 3), **to-jo** /*toio*/ 'de celui-là' < **tósyō* (skr. *tásya*). De même le traitement a des nasales syllabiques ; exemples : **a-ki-ti-to** /*áktitos*/ 'non cultivé' (**q₂-*; lat. *in-*; skr. *a-*), **a₂-te-ro** /*háteras*/ 'l'un des deux' (**sm-*; cf. lat. *semel* 'une fois'). La désinence du datif-locatif pluriel des thèmes en consonne est déjà *-sí*, forme substituée à *-su* (skr. loc. plur. *-su*) sous l'influence de la désinence *i* du locatif singulier ; exemple : **ti-ri-si** /*trisi*/ 'pour trois'. En outre, la fusion du datif et du locatif est déjà un fait accompli : les formes en *-sí* représentent non seulement la valeur du locatif mais aussi celle du datif, de même qu'au singulier, *-ei* et *-i* représentent les deux valeurs (§ 3). — La terminaison du nom. plur. masc.-fem. des thèmes en *-o-* était originellement **-ōs* < *-o-es*, celle des thèmes en *-a-* était **-ās* < **-eh₂-es*. Le grec a substitué la terminaison pronominale *-oi* à **-ōs*, puis *-ai* à **-ās* (R. 1979a : 74). Or, l'emploi du signe **ra**, (§ 2) dans une graphie comme **di-pte-ra**, /*dip^ht^hérai*/ 'peaux préparées' montre que ces substitutions sont déjà des faits accomplis en mycénien. — Une forme comme **-de-ka-sa-to** /*déksato*/ 'il a reçu' prouve que la substitution de *-sa-* à *-s-* comme morphème de l'aoriste sigmatique est antérieure à l'époque des tablettes⁶.

En outre, le vocabulaire du mycénien est tout proche de celui du grec postérieur. Ainsi, le nom **da-mo** /*dâmos*/ issue de **doh₂-mos-s* 'section' (cf. skr. *dā-ti* 'il coupe'), a déjà le sens spécifique de 'territoire d'une communauté' ou 'communauté d'un territoire, peuple'. Les emprunts 'préhelléniques', qui ont donné au vocabulaire grec sa physionomie caractéristique, sont déjà présents en mycénien ; exemples : **a-sa-mi-to** /*asámint^hos*/ 'baignoire', **da-pu₂-ri-to** /*dabúrint^hos*/ = *labúrint^hos*/ nom du grand palais de Cnossos), **se-ri-no** /*sélinon*/ 'céleri', **wa-na-ka** /*wánaks*/ (titre du roi et de certains dieux), **qa-si-re-u** /*g^hasileús*/ 'chef suprême, prince' (plus tard *basileús* 'roi'). Tandis que certains suffixes préhelléniques, par exemple *-nt^h* dans le type *asámint^hos* ne se trouvent que dans des noms préhelléniques, d'autres s'ajoutent également à des thèmes d'origine indo-européenne, par exemple *-ēw-* d'après **ke-ra-me-u** /*kerameús*/ 'potier', dérivé du nom préhellénique, /*kéramos*/ 'terre à potier', le grec a créé des noms comme **i-je-re-u** /*hiereús*/ 'prêtre'.

Il importe d'observer que le mycénien ne représente pas le proto-grec, c'est-à-dire la phase préhistorique du grec qu'on reconstruit

en se fondant sur la grammaire comparée des dialectes grecs dans le cadre indo-européen. En effet, le mycénien présente déjà les traits caractéristiques du dialecte proto-achéen, ancêtre de l'arcadien et du chypriote. Il s'agit d'une part de l'assibilation du type *-ti* > *-si* d'autre part du vocalisme *o* dans le traitement du type *r* > *-ro-* (à l'intérieur du mot), *-or* (en fin de mot) pour les liquides syllabiques; exemples; **pa-si** /*p^hāsī*/ 'il dit', **qe-to-ro-po-pi** /*k^hetrópōp-p^hi*/ 'avec les quadrupèdes' (instr. plur. de *k^hetro-pod-* < **k^hetr-*). Cela invite à conclure qu'à l'époque des tablettes, la différenciation dialectale était déjà un fait accompli: distinction entre le proto-ionien (*-si, -ra-*), ancêtre des parlers ioniens et de l'attique, le proto-achéen (*-si, -ro-*), ancêtre de l'arcadien et du chypriote, le proto-éolien (*-ti, -ro-*) ancêtre du thessalien, du lesbien et du béotien, et le proto-dorien *-ro-*, ancêtre du lesbien et du béotien, et le proto-éolienn (*-ti, -ra-*) ancêtre des parlers occidentaux.

§ 5. On ne s'étonne pas que le mycénien soit beaucoup plus proche du grec du premier millénaire que du proto-indo-européen. En effet, le début de la différenciation dialectale du grec en Grèce peut être situé vers le début de l'époque mycénienne, c'est-à-dire vers 1600 av. J.-C. La différenciation entre le proto-grec et le proto-indo-iranien (etc.), en revanche, ne peut guère être postérieure au milieu du troisième millénaire. Elle est évidemment antérieure à l'entrée des Proto-grecs en Grèce, qu'on peut situer vers le début du second millénaire.

On constate que le dialecte artificiel de l'épopée homérique comporte plusieurs éléments mycéniens, tels que les formes en *p^hi* (§ 3) et des mots comme *asámin^tos* 'baignoire', (*w*)*ánaks* 'roi' (§ 4). Cela s'explique dans le cadre du style oral, formulaire et traditionnel de l'épopée grecque. Il est probable que la tradition épique des Grecs a commencé au début de l'époque mycénienne (XVI^e siècle) dans les centres de la civilisation mycénienne (R. 1985b). Après la destruction des centres mycéniens, notamment ceux du Péloponnèse, vers 1200 av. J.-C., les Éoliens ont continué la tradition épique dans le Nord de la Grèce, ensuite, à partir du début du premier millénaire, dans les colonies éoliennes en Asie Mineure. C'est en Asie Mineure que les Ioniens orientaux ont emprunté la tradition épique à leurs voisins éoliens, peut-être au IX^e siècle. Ainsi, on peut rendre compte du fait que le dialecte homérique, tout en se rattachant en principe à l'ionien oriental, comporte des éléments éoliens plus anciens et des éléments mycéniens (achéens) encore plus anciens.

Nous espérons que l'esquisse générale du mycénien que nous venons de présenter suffira à montrer l'intérêt des études mycéniennes pour la grammaire historique du grec et la grammaire comparée des

langues indo-européennes. En effet, les textes mycéniens nous offrent le niveau synchronique d'un dialecte grec d'environ 1400-1200 av. J.-C., par rapport auquel on peut préciser la chronologie relative des changements phonétiques, des actions analogiques et des emprunts qui ont eu lieu après la période préhistorique du proto-indo-européen et qui ont produit la langue grecque.

Malheureusement, les textes retrouvés de la comptabilité palatiale mycénienne sont peu nombreux et l'orthographe du linéaire B rend le grec d'une façon assez imparfaite (§ 2). En outre, le style est fort concis : il s'agit en principe de listes de personnel, de bétail, de produits, parfois avec la mention de leur provenance ou de leur destination. En principe, chaque mention se termine par un chiffre précédé d'un 'idéogramme', c'est-à-dire d'un dessin fort simplifié de ce qui est comté: type **pu-ro VIR 2** (PY An 35.2) 'à Pylos (Púloi): 2 hommes'; on se sert de mots latins, écrits en majuscules, pour transcrire les idéogrammes. Dans ce genre de textes, les phrases complètes et par conséquent les verbes sont assez rares. C'est pour-quoi nous restons souvent sur notre soif en ce qui concerne les détails de la phonologie, de la morphologie, de la syntaxe et du vocabulaire du grec mycénien.

§ 6. Pour illustrer l'importance des données mycéniennes, nous avons choisi les mots mycéniens qui comportent la racine *ar-* < **h₂er-*. Chez Homère, le verbe primaire est encore bien attesté, tandis que le grec postérieur l'a remplacé par des verbes dérivés, notamment par *harmóttō/harmózō* (§ 13). Voici les formes du verbe primaire : le présent *ar-ar-iskō*, l'aoriste thématique à redoublement *ēr-ar-o-n* avec comme doublet l'aoriste sigmatique *ēr-s-a* l'aoriste 'passif' *ēr-t'ēn* et le vieux parfait radical à désinences 'actives' mais à valeur passive *ār-ēr-a^o*. Dans son emploi le plus ancien, le verbe transitif semble avoir désigné l'action d'ajuster une chose, de la mettre en état d'être jointe à une autre chose ou en état de fonctionner bien (anglais **to make fitting, to make fit**). Puis, il désigne l'action de construire une chose complexe en ajustant et en joignant les pièces les unes aux autres (construction d'un navire, etc.). Enfin, il désigne l'action de munir une chose de choses ajustées et nécessaires à un bon fonctionnement (anglais **to fit with** ; équipement d'un navire, etc.).

Homère emploie aussi le participe *ármenos* 'ajusté'. Le plus souvent, on y voit un aoriste radical athématique à valeur passive : *ár-menos* < **h₂er-* comme *kt-á-menos* 'tué' < **tkn-*. À notre avis, *ármenos* exprime plutôt l'état d'être ajusté, si bien qu'il vaut mieux y voir un présent radical athématique moyen exprimant l'état : *ár-menos* < **h₂er-* comme *keí-menos* de *keí-mai* 'je suis couché' (skr.

séte < *kéy-toy 'il est couché¹⁰). Par une extension de cette valeur statique ('être ajusté', anglais *to be fitting*), on arrive au sens d' 'être préparé, être en état de fonctionner bien, être bon' (anglais *to be fit, to be good*), qu' on trouve dans des formes d'adjectifs tels que le superlatif *áristos* 'le meilleur.'

Au point de vue syntaxique, il faut signaler la construction de *ar-* avec le datif (emploi instrumental). Voici un exemple de cette construction pour le verbe transitif : Od. 2,353 *pómasin ársen hápantas* 'munis toutes (les amphores) de couvercles'. Noter que cette expression présuppose que les couvercles sont ajustés aux amphores, qu'ils leur conviennent.

§ 7. Les textes mycéniens fournissent deux formes du participe parfait à valeur passive de *ar-*. D'une part, on trouve l'expression *pa-ka-na a-ra-ru-wo-a de-so-mo* /*p'ásgana, ararwóha desmois*/ poignards munis de bandes' (KN Ra 1548, etc.)¹¹. Il s'agit sans doute de bandes de cuir servant de baudrier. Comparer l'expression homérique Il. 11,30-31 *kōlēon...aortēressin arērōs* 'gaine (d'une épée) munie de courroies de baudrier'. D'après les règles orthographiques (§ 2), on attendrait la graphie **a-ra-wo-a*. L'expression graphique de la liquide *r* devant *w* à l'aide de la voyelle morte *u* s'explique probablement par une raison morphologique, à savoir le désir d'exprimer explicitement le redoublement de parfait. La forme *ararwóha* répond à la forme plus récente *arēróta* chez Homère. Dans le cadre de la tradition épique, la forme homérique peut bien recouvrir la forme mycénienne, qui a la même structure métrique. L'élément *arar-* peut s'expliquer à partir de **h₂er-h₂r-* (cf. n. 9); comparer le type *bebaōs* 'ayant les pieds fixes sur le sol', issu de **g^{*}e-g^{*}h₂-wós*, où le redoublement comporte le vocalisme *e* devant le degré zéro de la racine. Sous ce rapport, il faut observer qu'Homère conserve la voyelle brève dans la seconde syllabe de la forme féminine *araruia* (-*uia* < **-us-ya*). Comparer (*w*)*iduia*, féminin de **widwós*, forme mycénienne que recouvre la forme ionienne plus récente *eidós* 'sachant' chez Homère. En mycénien, **widwós* est indirectement attesté par l'anthroponyme *Widwóhios* (graphies *wi-dwo-i-jo*, *wi-du-wo-i-jo*, *wi-do-wo-i-jo*), qui s'identifie à l'adjectif patronymique en -*io-* dérivé de l'anthroponyme non attesté **Widwós* (R. 1967 : 207). La voyelle longue de la seconde syllabe de *arērōs* dorien *arārōs* est due à l'influence des formes du singulier de l'indicatif : 1re p. *árēra*, dor. *árāra*, comme *bēbēka*, dor. *bēbaka* avec -*bā-* < **-g^{*}oh₂-* vis-à-vis de *bebaōs*¹².

On constate que le mycénien conserve encore la forme -*wóh-* < -*wos-* (devant voyelle) du morphème du participe parfait. La consonne *h*



est explicitement exprimée dans la graphie **te-tu-ko-wo-a₂** (à côté de **te-tu-ko-wo-a**) /t^he^huk^hwóha/ 'fabriqué, achevé' (nom. plur. ntr.), du verbe t^heúk^ho>teúk^hō 'je fabrique'¹¹. Le grec postérieur, en revanche, n'emploie plus de telles formes, devenues trop opaques au point de vue morphologique en conséquence de la chute de **h** intervocalique et des contractions (*-wóh-a>*(-w)ō- etc.). C'est pourquoi il insère la consonne **i** entre -(w)o- et la voyelle (initiale) de la désinence casuelle : type *leloipóta* 'ayant quitté' vis-à-vis de nom sing. *leloipós* (masc.); *leloipós* (ntr.). Le modèle était fourni par la flexion des participes de thèmes thématiques : type aoriste *lipónta* vis-à-vis de nom. sing. *lipón lipón*¹².

§ 8. D'autre part, on trouve l'expression **i-qi-ja...a-ra-ru-ja a-ni-ja-pi** /ikk^hiā...araruā ān^htāp^hil/ 'char...muni de rênes' (KN Sd 4405, etc.)¹³, qui comporte la forme féminine du participe (§ 7). Elle est construite avec l'instrumental en -p^hi (§ 3), cas dont la valeur est exprimée plus tard par la forme du datif-locatif¹⁴. La finale -wīa<*us-ya comporte le degré zéro du morphème -wes-/wos-. Originellement, il doit y avoir eu une alternance : *-wés-ih₂- (nom. et acc. sing.), *-us-yéh₂- (gén. sing., etc.). La forme -(w)eīa<*-wés-ya, issue de *-wés-ih₂, survit dans quelques parlers doriens ; ainsi, on trouve à Héraclée la forme *errēgeīa*, 'déchirée', issue de *we-wr^hg-wés-ih₂. Le mycénien, cependant, semble déjà avoir substitué -uīa à *-weīa¹⁵.

Il est utile de discuter dès maintenant la forme mycénienne qui répond à attique *hēnīā* 'rêne' (Homère *hēnion*). On peut admettre avec Frisk que la forme originelle était *ansīā¹⁶ : traitement phonétique *anhīā*>*ān^hiā>*hanīa* (R. 1967 : 60-61)¹⁷. Il importe d'observer que tant à Cnossos qu'à Pylos, on ne trouve que la graphie **a-ni-ja**. Cela prouve que le trait 'aspiré' ne s'était pas encore déplacé vers le segment initial, puisque pour *hānīā* on attendrait la graphie †**a₂-ni-ja**. (§ 2).

§ 9. Enfin, le participe *ármenos* est indirectement attesté par l'anthroponyme **a-me-no**, pour lequel l'interprétation *Ármenos* est plausible¹⁸. Comme nous l'avons signalé plus haut (§ 6), la forme homérique *ármenos* 'ajusté' appartient plutôt au présent qu'à l'aoriste¹⁹. Plus tard, on trouve l'emploi substantivé du neutre pluriel *ármena* pour désigner l'équipement matériel, par exemple celui d'un navire (agrès, provisions). Cette valeur s'explique à partir de la notion d' 'objets ajustés à une chose et nécessaires au bon fonctionnement de cette chose' (anglais *the fittings*).

L'anthroponyme *Ármenos* se retrouve au premier millénaire; comparer aussi *Arārós*. Il se peut qu'il s'agisse d'un emploi métaphorique

de *ar-* pour référer au lien social ou aux liens d'amitié qui unissent les membres d'un groupe (cf. *art'mós*, § 20; *aréssast'ai*, § 25). Dans cette hypothèse, *ármenos* s'applique à un homme dont le comportement s'harmonise avec celui des autres membres du groupe social dont il fait partie et avec le bon fonctionnement de ce groupe social, c'est-à-dire à un homme convenable.

§ 10. Passons maintenant au nom neutre *a-mo/árm'o/* 'roue à rayons', nom. duel *a-mo-te /árm'otel*, nom. plur. *a-mo-ta /árm'o'ta/* dat. plur. *a-mo-si /árm'osil*. Le sens du nom est illustré par l'idéogramme qui le suit et qui est le dessin d'une roue à rayons (R. 1976 177-179; R. 1879b: 208-215). La découverte de la valeur du mot mycénien, qui au point de vue morphologique répond à *háрма* 'char' en grec postérieur, a surpris les linguistes. Avant le déchiffrement du linéaire B, on expliquait le sens de 'char' à partir de la notion d' 'objet produit par des ajustements et un assemblage', le char étant un ensemble complexe, constitué de pièces ajustées et adaptées les uns aux autres. Désormais, en revanche, le sens de 'char' doit s'expliquer par synecdoque (*pars pro toto*) à partir de celui de 'roue à rayons', la paire de roues étant un élément fort essentiel au bon fonctionnement du char. Sous ce rapport, on comprend maintenant pourquoi Homère emploie le plus souvent le pluriel *hármata* qui peut recouvrir le duel *hármate*, pour désigner un seul char: c'est plutôt la paire de roues qu'une seule roue qui est essentielle au char. Comme le char est une voiture rapide, tirée par des chevaux, il a besoin de roues à la fois légères et solides, c'est-à-dire de deux roues à rayons (cf. *i-qi-ja* 'char', n. 15). Cette valeur spécifique de *árm'o* s'explique également bien à partir de la valeur de *ar-*: le nom désigne l'ensemble, complexe et solide, qui résulte de l'ajustement et de l'adaptation de pièces hétérogènes, à savoir la jante, les rayons et le moyeu²². Il est probable qu'en mycénien, le nom générique de la roue était encore *kúklos*²³, mot qui n'est attesté qu'indirectement dans l'anthroponyme dérivé *ku-ke-re-u /kukleús/* 'celui qui s'occupe de roues'.

Le nom *háрма* est l'aboutissement phonétique de **árm'a < *árhma*²⁴, forme substitué à **ársma < *h₂ér-s-mḡ* comparer *hármós* 'joint' < **arhmós*, forme substituée à **arshmós* (§ 16). Ici encore, on constate que le déplacement de l'aspiration vers le segment initial est de date postmycénienne (cf. *a-ni-ja*, § 8): tant les tablettes de Cnossos que celles de Pylos ne connaissent que la graphie *a-mo*. L'emploi du suffixe complexe *-s-ma* au lieu de *-ma* (type *peisma* 'corde', issue de **p^hént^h-sma-* cf. skr. *badhnámi* 'je lie') s'explique par l'influence de l'emploi beaucoup plus fréquent du suffixe *-smó-* au lieu de *-mó-* (§ 15, § 17)²⁵.



En principe, les neutres en *-ma* désignent la chose qui est essentielle à l'action exprimée par le thème de base²⁶. Ainsi, le mycénien a *pe-ma* /*spérma*/ 'semence', /*hék^hma*/, 'support' (dat.-instr. sing. *e-ka-ma-te*, instr. plur. *e-ka-ma-pi*)²⁷. Parfois, le nom en *-ma* désigne la chose qui résulte de l'action, par exemple *dérma* 'peau dépouillée d'un animal' (: *dérō* 'j'écorche'), nom peut-être attesté en mycénien (dat. plur. *de-ma-si* /*dérmasi*/). C'est pourquoi l'explication sémantique de *a-mo* 'roue à rayons' que nous venons de donner est légitime: il s'agit de la chose qui résulte de l'action d'ajuster et d'assembler.

§ 11. Le vocalisme *o* du suffixe de *a-mo* pose un problème (R. 1979a: 85-86). En général, le mycénien présente tantôt *a* tantôt *o* pour le segment final des thèmes neutres en **-ŋ-*. Ainsi, on trouve *pe-mo* /*spérmo*/ à côté de *pe-ma* /*spérma*/ *a-re-po-zo-o* /*aleip^hozóhos*/ à côté de *a-re-pa-zo-o* /*aleip^hazóhos*/ 'bouilleur d'onguent', composé dont le premier membre remonte au thème **aleip^h-ŋ-* (nom. sing. **áleip^h-ŋ* > ion. *áleip^har*). Comme le traitement normal de la nasale syllabique est *a* en mycénien (§ 4), il faut expliquer le vocalisme *o* par une action analogique. Plusieurs facteurs y ont probablement joué un rôle. Dans la flexion des neutres hétéroclites en **-ŋ/-ŋ-*, on attend le type nom. sing. **áleip^hor*, gén. sing. *aleip^hatos*, dat. sing. *aleip^hatei* (*a-re-pa-te*) etc. d'après les lois phonétiques (§ 4). D'une part, le mycénien a donc pu créer la forme *áleip^har* (écrite comme monogramme A+RE+PA servant d'idéogramme), en généralisant le vocalisme *a*. D'autre part, il a pu généraliser le vocalisme *o*, ce qui explique *a-re-po-zo-o*. Il est possible que le type *aleip^hōr* (cf. *tékmōr* doublet de *tékmar* 'marque, signe'), ancien neutre à valeur collective, ait également contribué à l'extension du vocalisme *o*. Ainsi, le vocalisme *o* de *húdōr* 'eau' (orig. **wédōr*) se retrouve dans l'expression *a₂-ro u-do-pi* /*halōs údop^hi*/ avec des aiguës-marines', où *údop^hi* est une forme analogique pour **údop^hi* issu de **ud-ŋ-p^hi*. De façon parallèle, l'ancien neutre collectif en *-mōn* peut avoir contribué à la création des doublets mycéniens en *-mo*²⁸.

§ 12. Les textes mycéniens fournissent aussi des dérivés du nom *a-mo*. La graphie *a-mo-te-wo* représente la forme *arm^hotēwos* gén. sing. d'un nom en *-eūs* (*-ēw-*, § 4) qui désigne celui qui s'occupe de roues à rayons. Il s'agit probablement du chef de l'atelier où l'on produit des roues à rayons; si l'on admet que le même atelier servait à la production de chars, on pourrait attribuer au nom le sens de 'charron'²⁹. La forme *a-mo-te-wi-ja* /*arm^hotēwīā*/ est le féminin de l'adjectif d'appartenance en *-io-* dérivé de ce nom, mais l'interprétation pratique de cet adjectif est incertaine³⁰.



La graphie **a-mo-te-jo-na-de** représente l'expression *arm^hoteyōna dé*, qui comporte la postposition *dé* 'vers, à' construite avec l'accusatif de direction. Le nom *arm^hoteyōn* désigne l'atelier où l'on produit des roues à rayons et peut-être des chars, c'est-à-dire la charronnerie. Le suffixe *-eyōn-* est un doublet complexe de *-ōn-*. Les noms masculins en *-ōn-* désigne l'espace, local ou temporel, qui contient un ensemble des entités désignées par le nom de base : type *andrōn* 'appartement des hommes', *ampelōn*, 'terrain contenant des vignes, vignoble', *Hekatombaiōn* (nom du mois qui contient les cérémonies de la fête des *Hekatōmbaia*¹¹). L'ionien connaît également le suffixe synonyme *eōn-* : type *andreōn*¹². La forme mycénienne *-eyōn-* révèle l'origine du suffixe : il faut partir de **k^halkeyōn* 'atelier où l'on produit des objets en bronze, forge' (>ion. *k^halkeōn*, att. *k^halkōn*, dérivé de l'adjectif neutre substantivé *k^halkéyon* (cf. instr. plur. fém. *ka-ke-ja-pi /k^halkéyāp^hi/* pour y voir § 3). Or, en réinterprétant **k^halkeyōn* comme *k^halk-eyōn* 'atelier où l'on travaille le bronze', dérivé de *k^halkōs* (*ka-ko*), le grec a obtenu le suffixe *-eyōn-*, que figure dans **a-mo-te-jo-na-de** (R. 1968b).

Enfin, l'anthroponyme **a-mo-ta-jo** peut s'interpréter comme *Arm^hotaios* forme qui s'identifierait à l'adjectif patronymique en *-io-* (cf. **wi-dwo-i-jo**, § 7) dérivé de l'anthroponyme **Arm^hótās*. Celui-ci pourrait être interprété comme dérivé en *-ā-* du nom **a-mo**; comparer **ku-ke-re-u** /*Kukleús*/ (§ 10). Dans les anthroponymes masculins dérivés de noms de choses, on trouve côte à côte les suffixes *-a-*, *-ēw-* et *-ōn-* (R. 1967: 219).

§ 13. Nous allons aborder maintenant l'analyse du verbe **arm^hóssō* attique *harmóttō* 'j'ajuste, j'adapte, j'assemble' dont on trouve le participe parfait passif féminin **a-ra-ro-mo-te-me-na** /*ararm^hotménā*/ 'complètement monté' et l'adjectif verbal composé **a-na-mo-to** /*anár-m^hostos*/ 'non monté', 'pas encore complètement monté'¹³. Les deux expressions qualifient des chars (**i-qi-ja**, § 8). Le sens des deux qualifications est illustré par l'idéogramme qui les suit : **a-ra-ro-mo-te-me-na** répond à CURRUS, dessin d'un char complet, abstraction faite des roues (série KN Sd), **a-na-mo-to** à CAPSUS, dessin d'un char incomplet (série KN Sf)¹⁴. Il importe d'observer que dans la série KN Sd, **a-ra-ro-mo-te-me-na**, c'est-à-dire le verbe dérivé, se réfère au montage professionnel, c'est-à-dire à l'ajustement, à l'adaptation et à l'assemblage des pièces du char, activités qui exigent une expérience technique spécialisée, tandis que cela n'est pas le cas pour **a-ra-ru-ja**, c'est-à-dire le verbe primaire, qui se réfère à l'action de munir le char de rênes (§ 8). Ce n'est probablement que plus tard qu'en conséquence de la disparition du verbe primaire, le verbe dérivé en a adopté des emplois non techniques.

Le type de redoublement de parfait qu'on trouve dans *ararm^hotménā* est sans doute dû au modèle de celui du verbe primaire. Noter que la graphie irrégulière *a-ra-ro-mo-te-me-na* au lieu de **a-ra-mo-te-me-na* (cf. *a-na-mo-to* et *a-mo*) exprime explicitement ce redoublement, tout comme *a-ra-ru-wo-a* (§ 7). La graphie montre également que l'aspiration ne s'était pas encore déplacée vers le segment initial (§ 8, § 10). La forme antévocalique *an-* de la négation dans *anārm^hostos* le montre aussi: devant *h* initial, le mycénien emploie la forme *a-*¹⁸. La forme attique *hērmosménē* comporte en revanche le type de redoublement qui est régulier au premier millénaire et qui est homophone de l'augment 'temporel'. Il nous paraît probable qu'en conséquence du déplacement de l'aspiration, **hararmotménos* a dû disparaître: le redoublement constitué des deux premiers segments du thème verbal n'était possible que dans le cas de 'voyelle non aspirée + consonne' (type *elélamai* 'je suis frappé', *alélimmai* 'je suis enduit d'huile'; cf. R. 1972).

La forme *ararm^hotménā* maintient l'occlusive dentale finale du thème verbal devant *m*. De même, on trouve *pe-pi-te-mo-no-jo* /*p^hep^hit^hménoio*/ génitif d'un anthroponyme qui s'identifie au participe parfait de *peit^homai* 'j'ai confiance' < **p^heit^homai* (voir n. 5), vis-à-vis de attique *pepeisoménos*¹⁶. Comparer la forme homérique isolée *kekoru^hménos* orig. 'muni d'un casque'. Le grec postmycénien a substitué *-sm-* à *-tm-*, *-^hm-*, *-dm-* dans la flexion du parfait moyen sur le modèle de *-st-* (type *anārm^hostos*), où *s* est l'aboutissement phonétique de l'occlusive dentale devant occlusive dentale.

La forme attique *harmóttō* remonte à **arm^hót-yō* comparer *eréttō* 'je rame' < **erét-yō* (cf. *e-re-ta* /*erétās*/ 'rameur'). La plupart des présents en *-ttō* (attique), *-ssō* (ionien), cependant, reposent sur un thème verbal qui se termine par une occlusive dorsale: type *p^huláttō*, *p^hulássō* 'je veille, je monte la garde' < **p^hulák-yō*. Inversement, la plupart des présents en *-zō* reposent sur un thème se terminant par une occlusive dentale: type *komízō* 'je soigne' < **komíd-yō*. En effet, le grec tend à employer un présent en *-ttō*, *-ssō* pour les thèmes en dorsale, un présent en *-zō* pour les thèmes en dentale. Ainsi, on trouve ion. *préssō*, att. *práttō*, 'j'agis' au lieu de **prázō* < **prágyō* (cf. crétois *práddō*), et inversement *despózō*, 'je suis maître' au lieu de **despóssō*, **despóttō* < **despótyō* (: *despótēs* maître'). C'est dans ce cadre qu'on peut rendre compte du fait qu'en dehors de l'attique, on trouve *harmózō* au lieu de **harmóssō*.

§ 14. De même que **erétyō* est un dérivé de *erétās* (§ 13), **arm^hotyō* doit être un dérivé de **arm^hótās*.¹⁷ A son tour, le nom | **arm^hótās* est un dérivé du nom **arm^hós*, dont l'aboutissement phonétique



postmycénien est *harmós* 'joint'. Le nom *harmós* doit être très ancien, puisque l'ancien locatif figé *harmoni* survit comme adverbe temporel équivalant à *arti* 'tout à l'heure', emploi métaphorique qui repose sur l'idée que le moment d'une certaine action se joint au moment présent, c'est-à-dire qu'il n'y a guère de temps intermédiaire entre les deux moments. Dans son emploi concret, *harmós* désigne le joint dans la charpente ou la maçonnerie. Le nom **arm^hótās* doit avoir désigné l'homme qui s'occupe professionnellement de joints, c'est-à-dire le charpentier, le menuisier ou le maçon³⁸. Comparer l'aspect professionnel du nom *to-ko-so-ta* /*toksótas*/ 'archer', dérivé de *tókson* 'arc'.

Il est possible que **arm^hótās* ait été remplacé par *arm^hostér* nom d'agent dérivé du verbe **arm^hóssō* et attesté par la graphie *a-mo-te-re* (dat. sing. en *-ei* ou nom plur. en *-es*). Malheureusement, *a-mo-te-re* ne se rencontre que sur deux fragments de tablettes qui n'ont pas été attribués à une série spécifique, si bien que le manque de contexte empêche d'en dire davantage. Plus tard, *harmostér* (attique *harmostés*) est le titre d'un gouverneur de province. Dans cet emploi métaphorique, le verbe *harmóttō* se réfère à l'organisation d'un ensemble social, d'une société : le gouverneur prend les mesures nécessaires pour le bon fonctionnement de la société et de ses membres (comparer aussi *harmonía* au sens d'organisation, de gouvernement; cf. n. 38). Il est tentant d'admettre un tel emploi également pour *harmós*. Dans cette hypothèse, on peut rendre compte d'anthroponymes comme *Harmokúdēs* 'dont la gloire réside dans l'organisation'; ainsi, *Harmó-lāos* se compare à *Harmosí-lās* 'qui organise l'armée. Par conséquent, l'anthroponyme mycénien *a-mo-ke-re[-we]* se laisse interpréter comme *Arm^hokléwēs* 'dont la renommée réside dans l'organisation'.

§ 15. En principe, *harmós* comporte le suffixe *-mó-*, hérité du proto-indo-européen et servant à la formation de noms d'action ou plutôt de noms exprimant l'état qui résulte de l'achèvement de l'action exprimée par le thème de base. Souvent, ces noms d'état masculins désignent une chose concrète, c'est-à-dire le résultat matériel de l'action. Dans les noms en *-mó-* dérivés de racines, on trouve tantôt le degré *o* tantôt le degré zéro, ce qui n'étonne pas dans des noms thématiques oxytons³⁹. Au premier millénaire av. J.-C., le suffixe *-mó-* est fort productif dans la formation de noms déverbatifs, tandis que le suffixe féminin *-mā*, qui lui fait pendant, l'est beaucoup moins.

Dès l'époque préhistorique, le grec se sert très souvent des suffixes complexes *-smó* -et- *-smā*, équivalents de *-mó-* et *-mā*. Ainsi, l'attique

a *osmé*, 'odeur' < **odsmá*, tandis que l'ionien a *odmé*. Il est impossible de déterminer si *od-* remonte au degré zéro **h₃d-* (type *tī-mé* 'honneur' < **k^wih₂-*) ou au degré o **h₃od-* (type *lók^hmé* 'repaire d'une bête sauvage'⁴⁰). En outre, il est très souvent impossible de déterminer si *-mó-* est le suffixe simple ou s'il remonte à *-smó-*. Ainsi, *t^hómós* 'tas' peut s'expliquer tant à partir de **t^hoh₁mós* qu'à partir de **t^hōsmós* < **t^hoh₁smós* (racine **t^heh₁-* > *t^hē-* 'déposer'), vu le traitement *-sm-* > *-hm-* > *-m^h-* après voyelle (n. 19). D'autre part, la voyelle longue de *k^hūmós* 'suc' et de *t^hūmós* 'timon' n'est conforme aux lois phonétiques que si l'on part de **k^husmós* (: *k^hé(w)ō* 'je verse') et de **wrusmós* (: (*w*)*erúō* 'je tire')⁴¹. Dans un nom comme *plok^hmós* 'tresse' (: *plékō* 'je tresse'), l'occlusive aspirée prouve qu'il faut partir de **ploksmós*. Le mot mycénien **a₃-ka-sa-ma** /*aiksmá*/ 'pointe d'une lance' (> *aik^hsmá* > Hom. *aik^hmé*, § 3) montre que le groupe *-ksm-* était encore intact à l'époque des tablettes.

Dans les noms en *-smó-* dérivé d'un thème en occlusive dentale, *-smó-* est l'aboutissement phonétique de **-tsmó-*. Comme le traitement *ts* > *s* est postérieur au traitement *sm* > *hm*, le grec maintient le type *dasmós* 'distribution, partage' < **datsmós* nom probablement attesté en mycénien (**da-so-mo**). Dans ces conditions, le grec prémycénien a pu restaurer la consonne *s* dans des mots comme **do-so-mo** /*dosmós*/ 'don, contribution' (noter la parenté sémantique avec *dasmós*) et **de-so-mo** /*desmós*/ 'lien', formes substituées à **dohmós* < **dh₃smós* et à **dehmós* < **dh₁smós*⁴². Comparer la restauration de *s* intervocalique dans les morphèmes *-si* (dat.-loc. plur.), *-se/so-* (futur), *-s(a)-* (aoriste), qui est déjà un fait acquis en mycénien: **ti-ri-si** /*trisí*/ 'pour trois', **do-se** /*dōseil*/ 'il fournira', **e-re-u-te-ro-se** /*ēleu^hérōse*/ 'il a affranchi, rendu exempt d'impôts'.

§ 16. Sous ce rapport, les formes mycéniennes **arm^hós* (dans **a-ra-ro-mo-te-me-na**, etc.: § 13) et **a-mo** /*árm^ho*/ (§ 10) posent un problème. Le même problème se pose à propos de *hormé* 'élan' < **orm^há*, issue de **orsmá* (voir n. 8)⁴³. En effet, il est difficile d'admettre un traitement phonétique *-rsm-* > *-rh^hm-* > *-rm^h-*, puisque d'une part, *-rs-* intervocalique se maintient en grec (type *t^hérsos* 'confiance') et que d'autre part, *-sm-* est encore intact en mycénien après la consonne *k* (type **a₃-ka-sa-ma** /*aiksmá*/). Même après la liquide syllabique, *s* s'est maintenu: *t^hrasús* 'audacieux' < **t^hrsús*. Les exceptions concernent surtout l'aoriste sigmatique, où le type *édēra* 'j'écorchai' < **éder^ha* (au lieu de **édersa* s'explique par l'analogie du type *émēna* 'je restai' < **emenha* < **emensa*, le traitement phonétique *s* > *h* étant normal entre nasale et voyelle. Homère présente quelques aoristes sigmatiques où *-rs-* et *-ls-* se sont maintenus. C'est le cas pour *ērsa* (de *ar-*), si bien qu'on ne peut guère expliquer la substitution

de **arhmós* à **arsmós* comme analogique de l'aoriste sigmatique correspondant⁴⁴.

Pour *ker-* 'couper', Homère présente tant *ékērsa* que *ékēra* < **ékerha*. La forme originelle de cette racine est *kers-*, mais le grec a tiré la forme plus récente *ker-* de l'aoriste *ékērsa* (R. 1986: 392). Le degré *o* *kors* survit dans les noms *korsós* 'tronc d'arbre ébranché' et *kórsē* 'cheveux des tempes, tempe'. Or, l'existence de **ékerha* à côté de *ékērsa* explique la substitution de **korh-* à **kors-* dans **korhá* > *kōrá* 'action de couper' et **kórhos* > *kōros* 'bûches, branches coupées'. De même, *kormós* 'tronc d'arbre ébranché' peut s'expliquer en admettant la substitution de **korhmós* à **korsmós*. Dans cette hypothèse, on peut rendre compte de la substitution de **arhmós* à **arsmós* 'joint' (noter que *ker-* 'couper' est un antonyme de *ar-* 'ajuster, joindre') et de celle de **orhmā* à **órsmā*. Il est tentant de situer cette substitution dans la phase préhistorique du grec où les formes du type **dohmós* et **dosmós* (§ 15) coexistaient encore. En tout cas, elle est antérieure à l'époque des tablettes. Il est impossible de déterminer si dans **arsmós*, la racine était au degré zéro (**h₂r-*) ou au degré *o* (**h₂or-*); si **órsmā* comporte la racine **h₁er-* (n. 8), il s'agit du degré *o* (**h₁or-*).

§ 17. La forme complexe *-smó-* a chance d'être une création du proto-grec. En principe, elle peut s'expliquer en admettant une réinterprétation de noms en *-mó-* dérivés d'un thème qui comporte le suffixe *-s-*. On pourrait penser au thème verbal dérivé en *-s-*, morphème qui exprime l'achèvement de l'action exprimée par le thème de base, c'est-à-dire au thème qui plus tard a été intégré comme thème temporel de l'aoriste dans la conjugaison du verbe. Le sens d'achèvement convient bien aux noms en *-mó-*, qui expriment en principe l'état résultant de l'achèvement. Ainsi, **dh₁-smó-* 'lien' (*desmós*) s'expliquerait par la réinterprétation de **dh₁s-mó-*, nom où **dh₁s-* serait le degré zéro de **deh₁-s-* 'achever l'action de lier' (*édēsa* 'je liai'). De même, **ploksmós* (§ 15)⁴⁵ et **arsmós* se rapporteraient aux thèmes en *-s-* qui survivent dans les aoristes *épleksa* et *ērsa*.

D'autre part, le grec connaît quelques noms en *-mó-*, *-mā* qui sont dérivés de thèmes nominaux, notamment *drumá* 'bosquet' (pluriel de **drumón*, dérivé de *dóru* 'bois', cf. *drús* 'arbre'; skr. *drumá-h* 'arbre'⁴⁶) et *hálme* 'eau de mer, saumure' (dérivé de *háls* 'sel'). Ces dérivés semblent avoir une valeur collective. Le thème de base est au degré zéro *dru-*; *hal-* < **sh₃l-*). Dans ces conditions, l'élément **ods-* de **odsmā* (*osmé*, § 15) pourrait comporter le degré zéro de la racine **h₃ed-* 'exhaler une odeur' (présent *ózō* issu de **h₃d-yé/yó-*) et celui du suffixe nominal *-es/os-*⁴⁷, c'est-à-dire la forme réduite du



nom neutre *h₂édos (thème *h₂édes-), qui survit au second membre de composés comme *euódes*, 'qui a une bonne odeur'⁴⁸. Dans ce cadre, on pourrait admettre un rapport entre **arismós*, **plokismós* et les neutres *plékos* 'objet tressé', **áros* 'objet ajusté' (§ 18). Bien entendu, les deux hypothèses ne s'excluent pas: il se peut que ce soit précisément la coexistence de thèmes dénominatifs et de thèmes déverbatifs en -smó- qui explique le succès de ce suffixe en grec.

§ 18. Passons maintenant à l'expression [e-]ke-a ka-ka re-a /énk^heha k^halkáreha/ 'lances munies d'une pointe en bronze' (KN R 1815), qui rappelle l'expression homérique *k^halkéreī dōrí* (dat. sing.) Chez Homère, l'adjectif *k^halkérēs* s'applique aussi à des flèches, des casques et des boucliers. Il signale que les objets en question sont pourvus de certains éléments en bronze, ajustés et joints au corps de l'objet. Comme *k^halkárēs* est un composé du type *triétēs* 'qui a trois ans', dont le second membre est le thème du nom neutre (w)étos, il faut postuler un nom neutre *áros < *h₂éros 'élément ajusté et joint au corps d'un objet' (thème *áres- < *h₂éres-)⁴⁹. La valeur générale du suffixe -os ressemble à celle de -ma (§ 10); ainsi, *déros* est synonyme de *dérma* 'peau dépouillée d'un animal'⁵⁰.

La graphie ka-ka re-a, avec un certain espace entre les signes ka et re, montre que le scribe a senti le caractère composé de l'adjectif: en linéaire B, les composés sont souvent écrits comme une séquence de deux mots graphiques⁵¹. -Dans l'évolution ultérieure du grec, -érēs a fini par fonctionner comme un quasi-suffixe: type *teik^hérēs* 'enfermé dans des murs'. Pour -ódēs (§ 17), un tel emploi se trouve déjà chez Homère: type *lussódēs* 'enragé'. Cette évolution s'explique par la disparition des noms simples *áros et *ódos, remplacés par des noms comme *ármenon* (§ 9) et *asmé* (§ 17).

§ 19. Dans les composés possessifs proto-indo-européens, c'était sans doute le second membre qui portait l'accent. C'est ce que prouve notamment le degré zéro caractéristique du premier membre (R. 1980: 194-196). En grec, en revanche, l'accent recule vers l'initiale dans la mesure où le permet la loi de limitation, à ceci près qu'il ne peut se placer avant la syllabe finale du premier membre⁵². Ainsi, le grec a *tri-pod-* 'à trois pieds, trépied', tandis que la forme *tri-pád-* du sanskrit maintient l'accentuation originelle. L'innovation grecque est une conséquence de la loi de limitation. Dans les composés proto-indo-européens dont le premier membre était un verbe et le second membre le complément de ce verbe, c'était le premier membre qui portait l'accent: type sanskrit *dāti-vāra-* 'qui donne des trésors' (< *déh₃-ti-). En grec historique, le type **Dōtist^hénēs* > *Dōsist^hénēs* 'qui donne de la force', et le type possessif *Eurust^hénēs* 'qui a une force



étendue' ont tous les deux l'accentuation récessive. En effet, la loi de limitation a changé **Dōtist^henēs* en **Dōtist^hénēs*, gén. **Dōtist^hénesos*, etc., voc. **Dōtist^henes*. Par conséquent, l'accentuation est devenue identique à celle des composés possessifs : *Eurust^hénes*, **Eurust^hénesos*, etc. où, abstraction faite du vocatif, l'accent a gardé sa place ancienne (cf. skr. *dur-mānas-* 'troublé'). Le vocatif *Eurust^henes* 'explique dans ce cadre par l'analogie de *Dōtist^henes*. L'accentuation récessive a fini par être étendue aux autres composés possessifs. Ainsi, le type nom. plur. *trípodes* (orig. **tri-pód-*) a adopté l'accentuation récessive du type *aersípodes*, 'qui lèvent les pieds' (orig. **h₂wérti-pod-*).

Si nous avons illustré le recul de l'accent dans les composés en *-ēs* par des anthroponymes, c'est que dans cette catégorie l'accentuation récessive s'est complètement maintenue. Dans les adjectifs, en revanche, l'accentuation récessive du type *triétēs* (neutre *trietes*) ne s'est conservée que pour un nombre restreint de seconds membres. La plupart des adjectifs en *-ēs* sont oxytons. Ainsi, l'accent de *diogenēs* 'né de Zeus' s'oppose à celui de l'anthroponyme *Diogénēs*. Cette innovation s'explique par une réinterprétation du second membre. En effet, le composé originellement possessif ('dont le *génos* appartient à Zeus') a été réinterprété comme un dérivé de l'expression verbale *Diōs genést^hai* 'être né de Zeus'. C'est pourquoi il a emprunté l'oxytonaison aux composés du type *hu-p^horb-ó-s*, 'qui nourrit des porcs, porcher', dérivé de l'expression verbale *hús p^hérbēn*, 'nourrir des porcs'. Tandis que le type *hup^horbós* se rattache à l'emploi actif du verbe transitif, le type *diogenēs* concerne plutôt l'emploi passif du verbe ou le verbe intransitif. Ainsi, *harmatopēgós* 'qui construit des chars, charron' (*-pēg- < -pāg- < *-poh₂g-*) s'oppose chez Homère à *eupēgēs* 'bien construit' (originellement 'dont la structure est bonne'; second membre **-pāg-es- < *-peh₂g-es-*). Comme d'autre part, le rapport entre le type *diogenēs* et le type *génos* continuait à être senti, l'oxytonaison s'est étendue à presque tous les adjectifs en *-ēs*, même à la plupart de ceux qui ne se laissent pas rattacher à une expression verbale et qui ont donc entièrement conservé leur valeur possessive originelle: type *dolik^h-enk^hēs* 'dont la lance est longue'⁵³.

Cet excursus sur l'accentuation des composés en *-ēs* était nécessaire pour montrer que l'adjectif *k^halkārēs* présuppose en effet un nom neutre **áros* : s'il s'agissait du dérivé d'une expression verbale ('être muni de bronze'), l'adjectif eût été oxyton. Il semble d'ailleurs que déjà à date ancienne, le grec ait fabriqué des adjectifs en *-ārēs*, *ērēs* dont le sens répond à l'interprétation verbale du second membre. Ainsi, Homère présente *tūmērēs* 'qui est adapté au désir du coeur, agréable' (noter l'emploi métaphorique : il s'agit d'une qualité d'ordre mental)⁵⁴ et *euērēs* 'bien adapté'. Il est possible d'interpréter l'an-



thrononyme mycénien **e-u-wa-re** comme *Ehu-árēs* nom attesté plus tard *Euárēs*, *Euérēs*; ici, il pourrait s'agir d'une qualité sociale : 'bien adapté, convenable' (cf. **a-me-no** /*Ármenos*/, § 9).

§ 20. Ensuite, le mycénien fournit le dérivé **a-to-mo** /*art^hmós*/ 'union, ligue'. Les contextes où figure ce nom ne permettent guère d'en établir la valeur pratique précise, mais il semble s'agir d'une association d'hommes qui poursuivent ensemble un certain but. La valeur de *ar-* s'applique ici à un ensemble constitué de membres liés les uns aux autres et adapté à une certaine fonction. Plus tard, *art^hmós* peut se référer aux liens d'amitié; Homère emploie l'adjectif *árt^hmios* (avec datif) 'lié à' pour exprimer l'appartenance à un *art^hmós* de ce genre.

Au point de vue morphologique, le nom comporte le suffixe complexe- *t^hmó* qui, tout en étant moins fréquent, se compare à *-smó-* (§ 15-17). Ici encore, on trouve tantôt le degré *o* de la racine (type *port^hmós* 'lieu de passage, détroit') tantôt le degré zéro (type *ter^hmós* équivalent dorien de *t^hesmós* 'institution, règle'). Pour *art^hmós*, on peut donc partir soit de **h₂or-* soit de **h₂r-*. Il est probable que le suffixe *t^hmó-* résulte de la réinterprétation de noms en *-mó-* dérivés d'un thème verbal à suffixe *-t^h-*. Ce suffixe se trouve dans des présents thématiques comme *plér^hō* 'je suis plein' (**pléh₁-t^h-*). D'autre part, *-t^h-* peut également s'expliquer comme degré zéro de *-er^h-* suffixe qu'on trouve dans des présents thématiques comme *telér^hō* 'je deviens' (**k^hl_h-ét^h-*; cf. l'éolisme *pélomai* 'je deviens' chez Homère) et dans des aoristes thématiques comme *ésk^her^hon*, 'je retins' (**sk^h-ét^h-*). Noter que pour un nom tel que *stat^hmós* 'étable' (myc. **ta-to-mo**), les deux analyses *sta-t^hmó-* et *stat^h-mó-* (cf. *stat^h-erós* 'stable') étaient possibles. Sous ce rapport, il est intéressant d'observer que le grec a connu le présent *arét^ho-* (**h₂r-ét^h-*, § 25)⁵⁵

§ 21. Il est possible que le nom *ártos* 'pain', indirectement attesté dans myc. **a-to-po-qo** /*artopók^hos*/ 'qui cuit le pain, boulanger' (>*artopópos* avec dissimilation *artokópos*), se rattache à la racine *ar-*, le pain étant le résultat de l'assemblage de farine, d'eau, de sel et de levain. Dans cette hypothèse, plusieurs explications morphologiques sont *a priori* possibles. On pourrait penser à un adjectif verbal **artós* (**h₂r-tó-*), substantivé par l'ellipse de *sítos* 'blé' (myc. **si-to**), en admettant que *ártos* a adopté l'accentuation de *sítos*. Ou bien à un nom *ártos* <**h₂órtos* du même type que *p^hór-to-s* 'fardeau, charge'. Cependant, nous préférons y voir un dérivé du type *p^hór-o-s* 'contribution qu'on apporte', en admettant un thème verbal dérivé **h₂er-t->art^h-*⁵⁶. Ce thème figure dans plusieurs verbes dérivés: *artúō* 'j'arrange, je prépare, j'assaisonne, j'administre'⁵⁷, *artúnō* 'je dispose,

je prépare⁵⁸, *artéomai* 'je suis préparé (présent passif)⁵⁹. En outre, l'adjectif composé *epartēs* 'équipé, préparé' présuppose un nom neutre **artos* < **h₂ért-os*. Enfin, l'adverbe *árti* 'juste, tout à l'heure' (§ 14) s'explique comme locatif d'un thème nominal *art-* (**h₂ért-i* ou **h₂órt-i*)⁶⁰.

§ 22. La racine **h₂er-* > *ar-* a également fourni un adjectif qui signifie 'bon' (§ 6). À l'époque classique, cet emploi se trouve dans le superlatif *áristos* 'le meilleur', forme issue de **h₂r-is-tó-*⁶¹. La graphie mutilée *a-ri-to-[.]jo* (KN Fh 347) peut représenter le datif d'un anthroponyme *Aristóg⁶²ios* 'qui a la meilleure force' (: *bíā*) ou 'qui a la meilleure vie' (: *bíos*). Le mycénien a conservé la forme originelle du comparatif: nom. plur. masc. *a-ro₂-e* /*laryohes*/ ntr. *a-ro₂-a* /*laryoha*/ 'meilleur, de meilleure qualité' (pour *ro₂*, voir § 2)⁶². L'adjectif s'applique à des tissus et à des roues à rayons. Le thème *áryos-* remonte à **h₂ér-yos-*⁶³.

En mycénien, le thème des comparatifs en *-yos-* se maintient toujours, abstraction faite du traitement *h* de *s* intervocalique (§ 3). Vis-à-vis de nom. plur. *me-zo-e* /*mézohes*/, *me-zo-a₂* /*mézoha*/ 'plus grand' (**még-yos-*), il faut sans doute interpréter la graphie *me-zo* du nom. sing. comme *mézōs* (masc.-fém.), *mézos* (ntr.). L'insertion de *n* après la voyelle *o* est une innovation postérieure. Elle s'explique du fait qu'après les contractions postmycéniennes, des formes comme gén.sing. **mézōs* < *mézohos*, gén. plur. **mezōn* < *mezohōs* étaient devenues trop opaques. C'est pourquoi le grec a inséré la consonne *n* sur le modèle des adjectifs du type *mnēmōn*, 'qui se souvient' (thème *mnēmōn-*). Cette innovation est parallèle à l'insertion de la consonne *t* après la voyelle *o* du suffixe *-wos-* > *-wo(h)-* du participe parfait (§ 7) à ceci près que l'innovation a également atteint le nom. sing. (type *mézōn*, *mézon*). D'autre part *mézōs* (< *mézohes*) et *mézō* (< *mézoha*) subsistent comme doublets de *mézones* et *mézona*. Le comparatif **aírōs* < **aryōs* n'a pas été remplacé par **aírōs*, forme trop opaque, mais par *areíōn*, forme attestée chez Homère et qui s'explique par l'influence de *pleíōn* 'plus, plus nombreux' (**pléh₁-yos-*).

§ 23. Le positif correspondant de l'adjectif doit avoir été **h₂r-éy-*, nom. sing. masc. **h₂r-í-s*. En grec, il ne survit qu'au premier membre de composés tels que l'adjectif *arígnōtos* 'bien reconnaissable' (Homère) et l'anthroponyme *Aríp⁶⁴rōn* 'qui a un bon coeur, du bon sens'⁶⁴. En effet, abstraction faite des composés du type *pukí-mēdēs* (n. 64), le grec a perdu les adjectifs du type **puk-í-s*, qui ont été remplacés par des formes plus récentes (*puknós* 'serré, solide', et *pukínós*, croisement de **pukís* avec *puknós*). Le mycénien présente *ari-* dans l'anthroponyme *a-ri-we-we* /*Ariwérwēs*/ 'qui a de bonne laine' (:



**wérwos* > Hom. *éros*). Le nom *a-ri-wo* /*Ariwōn*/ dat. *a-ri-wo-ne* /*Ariwoneil*/, s'explique comme hypocoristique en *-won-* (R. 1968a: 143, 148) à partir de tels anthroponymes composés. De même, *a-ri-ja-wo*, dat. *a-ri-ja-wo-ne* se laisse interpréter comme *Ariawōn* 1968a: 128), hypocoristique de noms tels que **Ariānor* (cf. *Euēnor* 'qui a des hommes excellents').

Le plus souvent, cependant, le mycénien emploie *Eri-* au lieu de *Ari-*: *e-ri-ke-re-we* /*Eriklēwēs*/ qui a une bonne renommée', *e-ri-qi-jo* /*Eriqios*/ et fém. *e-ri-qi-ja* *Erigiā* 'qui a une bonne force' (: *bīā*) ou 'qui a une bonne vie' (: *bīos*), *e-ri-ko-wo* /*Erikowos*/ 'qui surveille bien' (cf. *e-pi-ko-wo* /*epikowoi*/ 'surveillants', latin *cavēre* 'prendre garde'), *e-ri-ta-ri-jo* /*Eritālios*/ (: **Eritālos* 'qui fleurit bien' (cf. *tāllō*, *tālēō* 'je fleuris'), *e-ri-we-ro* /*Eriwēros*/ 'qui rend de bons services' (Hom. *erīēres* nom. plur. de la forme athématique correspondante), *e-ri-ka-we-e* /*Erikālweheil*/ 'qui a une beauté excellente' (datif; cf. *kal(w)ós* 'beau', *kállos* 'beauté')⁶⁵. La forme *eri-* se retrouve chez Homère dans des adjectifs composés comme *eribōlos* 'qui a de bonnes mottes de terre'.

Au premier millénaire, les adjectifs composés en question ne se rencontrent que dans le langage poétique, où *ari-*, *eri-* a fini par servir simplement de préfixe exprimant la notion d'intensité. Chez Homère, *ari-* et *eri-* équivalent pratiquement à *eū-* > *eu-*, thème de l'adjectif *eūs* 'bon' < **h₁s-ū-s*⁶⁶. L'adjectif *ehūs* est attesté en mycénien par des noms propres comme *e-u-po-ro-wo* /*Ehuplowos*/ 'qui navigue bien'. Ceci invite à conclure que dès avant l'époque des tablettes, le mycénien a fabriqué *eri-* comme doublet de *ari-* sous l'influence de *ehu-*. La même substitution se trouve pour l'adverbe *āra* < **h₂r-n* (type *pūkā* 'de façon serrée'; R. 1980), dont le sens originel était sans doute 'bien'. Chez Homère, la particule post-positive *āralār* sert en principe à demander l'attention spéciale pour le contenu de la phrase nouvelle. Elle répond donc à 'Eh bien!' (anglais *Well*,...). La forme *er'*, est attestée dans des gloses chypriotes comme *katēreai*, *kātisai* 'assieds-toi', c'est-à-dire *kat'ēr'ēai* (< *hēsai* < *héd-sai*, impératif de l'aoriste sigmatique moyen). Rappelons que le chypriote est un dialecte achéen, tout comme le mycénien (§ 4). Chez Homère, *eri-* appartient donc aux éléments achéens hérités de la tradition épique mycénienne.

§ 24. La notion de 'bon' se trouve aussi dans le nom abstrait *aretā* 'bonne qualité, vertu'. En mycénien, il est attesté dans l'anthroponyme dérivé *a-re-ta-wo* /*Aretawōn*/, qui comporte le suffixe *-won-* (R. 1968a: 115, 134). Le suffixe *-etā* se retrouve dans des noms d'action comme *teletā* 'exécution des rites, célébration des



mystères' (*telēō* 'j'exécute une tâche', racine **telh₁-*). La racine était originellement au degré zéro (*telet-* < **tlh₁-et-*), tout comme dans les noms masculins correspondants du type *nip^hetós* (n. 33). Noter la coexistence de *bioté* et de *biotos* 'vie' (**g^hih₃-et-*). Par conséquent, *aretā* est issue de **h₂r-et-* (cf. **h₂ert-* > *art-*, § 21).

§ 25. Le nom de la source *Aret^hōsa*, doit s'identifier au participe féminin d'un présent *arēt^hō*. Le mycénien fournit le participe masculin correspondant comme anthroponyme: gén. *a-re-to-to* /*Arēt^hontos*/. Le thème verbal *aret^h-* doit remonter à **h₂r-ét^h-*; comparer *p^ha(w)ét^hō* 'je répands de la lumière' (**p^hh₂w-et^h-*; cf. *p^hāwos* 'lumière' < **p^hh₂ew-os*), *telēt^hō* (§ 20), *erēt^hō* (n. 8)⁶¹. Malheureusement, les noms propres ne permettent pas d'établir la valeur précise du verbe. Comme la plupart des verbes en *-ét^hō* sont intransitifs, on pourrait attribuer à **arēt^hō* le sens de 'je suis ajusté, adapté, en état de fonctionner bien' ou 'je prospère'. Le verbe pourrait avoir remplacé le vieux verbe d'état **ārmai*, dont le participe *ārmenos* subsiste (§ 9). À son tour, **aretāō* 'je prospère', verbe dérivé de *aretā* et attesté chez Homère, pourrait s'être substitué à **arēt^hō*.

D'autre part, l'anthroponyme *Arēt^hōn* fait penser à *Aréskōn* 'qui plaît'. En effet, *aréskō* 'je plais' peut s'expliquer comme présent en *-skō* dérivé de *aret^h-*; comparer *p^hāskō* dérivé à valeur originellement itérative de *p^hāmi* 'je dis'. Dans la construction avec le datif personnel, le sens 'je plais à quelqu'un' s'explique à partir de 'je suis bon aux yeux de quelqu'un, je semble bon à quelqu'un'. L'aoriste sigmatique *ēresa* 'je plus' peut remonter **aret^h-s-*. Chez Homère, le présent *aréskō* n'est pas attesté, tandis que l'aoriste sigmatique et le futur servent à exprimer la notion de 'donner satisfaction pour se réconcilier avec quelqu'un'. Cette valeur peut s'expliquer en admettant l'emploi causatif de l'aoriste sigmatique: type *ébēsa* 'je fis marcher' vis-à-vis de *bāskō*, *baínō*, 'je marche'. La valeur originelle de *arés(s)ai* (inf. act.) et *arés(s)ast^hai* (inf. moyen) peut donc avoir été 'rendre bon' et 'rendre bon pour soi-même'. Comparer les expressions allemandes *gutmachen* et *Wiedergutmachung*, qui se réfèrent également à l'action de donner satisfaction et de se réconcilier. Comme complément direct du moyen, on trouve tantôt la situation de mauvaises relations due à la faute préalable du sujet⁶², tantôt la personne mal traitée à qui le sujet donne satisfaction. Sous ce rapport, cet emploi homérique se laisse également rattacher à l'emploi de *art^hmós* (§ 20) pour désigner les liens d'amitié: le sujet fait que l'autre personne se lie (de nouveau) avec lui. C'est ce qui invite à admettre un rapport morphologique entre **arēt^hō* et *art^h-mós*.

L'adjectif verbal *arestós* 'qui plaît, agréable' se rattache à *aréskō*.



La forme *áres-* s'explique à partir de *aret^h*. Il est vrai que dans l'adjectif verbal en *-tó-*, on attend le degré zéro du thème verbal, mais la forme mycénienne **re-po-to-** /*leptós*/ 'mince' (: *lépō* 'j'épluche') montre déjà l'insertion de *e* entre liquide et obstruante. C'est pourquoi il est possible d'interpréter l'anthroponyme mycénienne **a-re-ta₂** (**ta₂**=**tya**) comme *Arestíās* hypocoristique de noms composés tels que *Arestō-doros* ou *T^e-árestos*.

§ 26. En terminant, nous tenons à souligner l'incertitude de plusieurs explications proposées ici. Néanmoins, nous espérons avoir montré l'importance des données mycénienne pour la reconstruction de l'évolution morphologique et sémantique qui a abouti à l'emploi multiple de la racine *ar-* en grec.

Notes

1. Pour des détails, voir R. 1967 : 22-31 et R. 1985a : 119-126. Pour les mots mycénien, les renvois aux textes se trouvent dans Olivier (etc.) 1973, dans le glossaire de Ventris-Chadwick 1973 et dans Aura Jorro 1985.
2. Les syllabogrammes **za**, **ze**, **zo** expriment l'affriquée dentale sourde ('ss<*ky* etc.) ou sonore ('zz<*dy*, *gy*).
3. En linéaire B, les mots sont en principe séparés l'un de l'autre par un tiret vertical. Les mots monosyllabiques postpositifs (enclitiques ou non) constituent une seule unité graphique avec le mot précédent, les monosyllabes prépositifs avec le mot suivant; exemples: **tu-ka-te-qe** /*t^hugátēr k^eel* 'et la fille', **pa-te-de** /*patēr dél* 'mais le père', **o-do-ke** /*ho dôkel* 'comment il a livré'. La graphie **qo-o**, où le second signe paraît redondant, montre que les scribes évitaient des mots graphiques constitués d'un seul syllabogramme.
4. L'aspiration de att. *héneka* est due à l'influence de *hōneka*<*hō éneka* 'à cause de quoi', 'parce que', conjonction qui à l'époque classique en est venue à s'employer comme doublet de la préposition *éneka*.
5. Plus tard *ék^hei*. L'action de la loi de Grassmann est probablement postérieure à l'époque des tablettes (R. 1967 : 44-46).
6. La forme *-sa-* a été tirée de formes comme *edeíksamen* 'nous montrâmes', où *-am-*<**-mm* résulte de l'application de la loi de Sievers-Edgerton.
7. Le traitement final *-or* se trouve dans *áor* 'arme, épée'

**áhor* < **ns-ŕ* (R. 1985a : 153-157), nom attesté chez Homère et attribué à l'arcadien par une glose. En mycénien, on le trouve dans les anthroponymes *a-o-ri-me-ne* /*Ahori-ménēs*/ 'dont la force réside dans l'arme' et *do-ri-ka-o* /*Dolik^h-áhor*/ 'dont l'arme est longue'.

8. La structure phonologique de **h₂er* → *ar* est semblable à celle de **h₁er* → *er* 'mettre en mouvement, agiter, irriter' (présent *erēt^h-ō* < **h₁r-et^h*) et à celle de **h₃er* → *ar* 'faire se lever' (présent *órñūmī*, issue de **h₃r-n-ēw-mī*). Parfois, il est difficile de distinguer ces deux racines, qui ont en commun le trait sémantique 'mouvement' et le degré *o* (**h₁or* → *ar*, **h₃or* → *or*). Le sens du nom *hormē* 'élan, assaut, départ', issue de **orsmā* (§ 16), invite à partir de **h₁or*-. Comparer les gloses d'Hésychius *éreto* *hōrmēt^hē*, 'il se mit en mouvement' et subjonctif *érsēi hormēsei* 'qu'il mette en mouvement'. L'aoriste thématique *éreto* < **h₁r-e-to* est parallèle à *ōreto* < **h₁e-h₃r-e-to* 'il se leva', l'aoriste sigmatique *er-s-* < **h₁er-s-* à *ōrsa* < **h₁e-h₃er-s-m* 'je fis se lever'. Noter que *ōros* 'montagne' < **h₃ér-os* prouve, tant au point de vue morphophonologique qu'au point de vue sémantique, l'existence de **h₃er*-comme racine distincte de **h₁er*-.
9. Pour le morphème de présent *-i-sk-e/o-*, voir R. 1985a : 142-143, 148-149. Pour le redoublement du type *ar-ar-*, voir R. 1972 : 224-226. Après tout, il est bien possible que *arar-iskō* remonte à **h₂r-h₂r-* : emploi répété du degré zéro devant le suffixe accentué *-ské-*. Comparer les types *mímnō* 'j'attends' et *gignōskō* 'je reconnais', qui s'expliquent à partir de **m^h-mn-é* et **g^h-gnh₃-ské-*, si l'on admet que la voyelle *i* de la syllabe de redoublement est issue d'une voyelle d'appui. D'autre part, *érar-on* peut remonter à **h₂er-h₂r-*. Comparer le type *é-pe-p^hn-o-n* 'je tuai', où le redoublement comporte le vocalisme *e* devant le degré zéro de la racine.
10. La scholie A à Il. 18,600 donne *eû hērmosménon* 'bien ajusté' comme paraphrase de *ármenon*. Or, *hērmosménon* est un participe parfait passif et exprime donc l'état.
11. D'après une glose, le chypriote a conservé le nom *p^hásganon*. Puis, il figure chez Homère, sans doute comme élément achéen (mycénien) de la tradition épique, et chez des poètes postérieurs.
12. Comme forme originelle, on attendrait soit **h₂ér-h₂or-h₂e* > **árara* (redoublement total) soit **h₂é-h₂or-h₂e* > **ára* (redoublement partiel). La forme attestée *árara* pourrait s'expliquer par le croisement de ces deux formes hypothétiques. Ou bien, l'a long a été introduit sur le modèle du type *pépāga* 'je suis fixé' < **pé-poh₂g-h₂e* vis-à-vis de formes comme **pepagwós* < **pe-ph₂g-wós*. Cf. R. 1972.
13. Pour les aspirées, voir n. 5. L'expression homérique Od. 12.423 *boòs r^hinoío teteuk^hós* a chance de recouvrir une expression

mycénienne *g^wowòs wrīnoio t^het^huk^hwòs*. Partout ailleurs, Homère se sert des formes moyennes plus récentes pour exprimer le parfait passif de ce verbe : *tétuktai*, *tetugménos* etc.

14. En éolien, le participe parfait a complètement adopté l'élément *-ont-* des participes de thèmes thématiques. Ainsi, le lesbien a *leloíponta*, *leloípōn*, *leloípon* et féminin *leloípoisa* (*-oisa* < *-onsa*).
15. Ou bien le pluriel *ikk^hiai...araruiai*... Le nom du char repose sur l'emploi substantivé de la forme féminine de l'adjectif d'appartenance en *-to-* dérivé du nom *i-qo* /*ikk^hos*/ 'cheval'. L'expression complète était probablement *wo-ka i-qi-ja/wok^hā* *ikk^hiā*/ 'voiture à chevaux', *wok^hā* étant originellement le nom d'action dérivé de *wék^hō* 'je transporte au moyen d'une voiture'. Le nom *ikk^hiā* survit au premier membre du composé *hip-piok^harmēs* 'celui qui combat sur un char' chez Homère. L'aspiration initiale de la forme attique *híppos* est adventice : elle ne figure pas dans des anthroponymes mythologiques comme *Leúk-íppos* 'qui a des chevaux blancs'. Elle peut s'expliquer par l'influence du nom *hárma* 'char' < **árm^ha* (§ 10). La voyelle *i* est plus difficile à expliquer : on attendrait **ékk^hos* < **ékwos* (lat. *equus*, skr. *ásva-*). Comme le flottement *e/i* est caractéristique de mots d'origine préhellénique, on pourrait penser à l'influence d'un nom préhellénique (minoén ?), qui à son tour aurait été emprunté à une langue indo-européenne. Voir R. 1976 : 184-186, R. 1979b : 213-215.
16. Il est possible qu'une expression homérique telle que Il. 3,338 *énk^hos*, *hó hoi palámēp^hi(n) arērei* '...sa lance, qui était ajustée à sa paume' se rattache à l'emploi mycénien de *-p^hi*. Chez Homère, cependant, *palámēp^hi(n)* équivaut à un datif singulier, tandis qu'en mycénien, *palámāp^hi* un instrumental pluriel.
17. Parfois, on a interprété la graphie *a-ra-ru-wo-ja* (KN Sd 4408) comme *árar-woia* < **-wósyā*. Cependant, il vaut mieux admettre une graphie incorrecte : contamination de *a-ra-ru-ja* avec *a-ra-ru-wo-a* (§ 7).
18. Cf. moyen irlandais *ē(i)sí* 'brides' (pluriel de **ansio-*), lat. *ansa* 'anse, poignée'. Le thème **ans-i-* figure au premier membre du composé *a-ni-o-ko* /*ān^hihók^hos*/ 'celui qui tient les rênes, conducteur d'un char' (ion.-att. *hēníok^hos*; cf. vieux prussien *ansi-s* 'crémaillère').
19. Traitement du type **ép^hansa*, > *ép^hāna*, 'je montrai' (att. *ép^hēna*). Comparer le traitement du type **nsmé* > **asmé* > **ahmé* > **ām^hé* > *hāmé* 'nous' (acc.; dorien). La perte du segment *h* (< *s*) devant ou après la nasale amène à la fois l'allongement compensatoire de la voyelle précédente et l'addition du trait distinctif 'aspiré' à la nasale. Plus tard, le trait 'aspiré' se déplace vers le segment initial, à moins que la syllabe initiale ne comporte

une obstruante. Le même déplacement se produit dans le cas de **h** intervocalique : **iserós* > **iherós* > *hierós* 'appartenant aux dieux', **wesanós* > *wehanós* (*we-a₂-no* : § 3) > **w^heanós* > *heanós* 'vêtement'. Les tablettes présentent côte à côte les types *i-e-re-u/ihereús* et *i-je-re-u/hiereús* 'prêtre', ce qui montre qu'après la voyelle fermée *i* (ou *u*), **h** était en train d'aboutir à la semi-voyelle *y* (ou *w*) par assimilation (R. 1967 : 55-56).

20. Pour les participes servant d'anthroponymes, voir Lejeune 1972a : 31-37.
21. *A priori*, l'aoriste n'est pas exclu pour ce genre d'anthroponymes : cf. *ku-ru-me-no/Klúmenos* 'dont on a entendu parler, célèbre', *Ke-se-me-no/Kersamenós* 'qui s'est coupé (les cheveux)'.
22. C'est surtout le sens spécifique de 'char' qui invite à partir du sens spécifique 'roue à rayons'. Il est vrai qu'on pourrait attribuer à *a-mo* le sens générique de 'roue', en l'expliquant à partir de la notion d' 'objet dont on munit une chose' (voiture munie de roues), mais dans cette hypothèse, on attendrait le sens générique de 'voiture' pour *hárma* dans le grec postmycénien. Homère emploie les noms *apénē* et *ámaksa* pour désigner le chariot, voiture à quatre roues et tirée par des mules. En mycénien, le nom *apénā*, probablement préhellénique, est indirectement attesté par le dérivé *a-pe-ne-wo apēnēwōn*, gén. plur. de *apēneús* 'bête de trait pour voiture à quatre roues'.
23. On attendrait l'accentuation oxytone pour ce vieux nom indo-européen, qui comporte la racine *k^hel-* 'tourner' précédée d'un redoublement : *k^h-k^hl-o-* (la voyelle *u* remontant à une voyelle d'appui). L'accentuation barytone provient de la forme **k^h-é-k^hl-o-* (anglo-saxon *hwēol* issu de germ. **hwéhwlā-*), dont la structure est parallèle à celle de *péplos* 'pièce d'étoffe servant de vêtement' (racine *pel-* 'plier'). Inversement, skr. *cakrá-* est oxyton.
24. Le changement *hm* > *m^h* (n. 19) après consonne n'est pas accompagné d'un allongement compensatoire.
25. Cette influence est évidente dans un cas comme *désma* 'lien', dont le vocalisme radical a été emprunté à *desmós* 'lien' (myc. *de-so-mo*), forme qui est issue de **dh₁-s-mó-* (degré zéro de la racine). En effet, les neutres en *-ma* les plus anciens comportent le degré *e* la racine; cf. *hupó-dema* 'sandale' (**déh₁-mḡ*). -Pour les rapports entre *-(s)ma* et *-(s)mó-*, voir Chantraine 1933 : 175-177.
26. Pour l'histoire ultérieure du suffixe, voir R. 1983 : 398.
27. La graphie *e-ka-ma-pi* représente *hék^hmap^hi* non pas *†map^hi* < *-mat-p^hi*. En effet, dorien *masi* (dat. plur.) prouve que l'élargissement *-t-* ne s'insérerait pas devant consonne mais seulement devant voyelle, puisque l'aboutissement dorien de *†-matsi*



eût été †-*massi*.

28. Cf. Benveniste 1935 : 121-123 ; Leukart 1987 : 347-364. En grec, de tels anciens neutres collectifs survivent d'une part comme noms masculins barytons en -*mon*- type *stēmōn* 'chaîne verticale du métier à tisser' (: lat. *stāmen* < **stéh₂-mḡ*). La valeur collective est évidente : il s'agit d'un ensemble de fils en position verticale. Avec l'accentuation oxytone, d'autre part, ils survivent comme noms masculins en -*mōn* : type *keut^mmōn* 'cachette', *tēmōn* 'tas'. Ici encore, une valeur originellement collective est plausible ; ainsi, *tēmōn* désigne un ensemble de choses déposées. À côté poétique *k^eeima*. Il est tentant d'admettre que *k^eeimōn* 'hiver' est issue d'un collectif **k^eeimōn* 'série de tempêtes d'hiver, période de l'hiver'. De même, *leimōn* 'prairie humide' présuppose un neutre **leima* (cf. *līmṇē* 'nappe d'eau stagnante', *leimaks* 'prairie'). —Noter qu' *a priori*, la graphie *to-so pe-mo* 'tant de semence' peut représenter non seulement *tōson spērmo* mais aussi *tōsos spērmon*.
29. Dans la série PY Ea, *a-mo-te-wo* est parallèle à *me-ri-te-wo/melitēwos/* gén. sing. de *meliteús*, chef de la production de miel, apiculteur' (: *me-ri méli* 'miel', gén. *mélitos*). C'est pourquoi il est moins probable que *a-mo-te-wo* désigne celui qui combat sur un char. —Comparer l'anthroponyme *Ku-ke-re-u* (§ 11).
30. Voir Ventris-Chadwick 1973 : 335, 498; R. 1967 : 129. L'adjectif sert d'épithète à *qe-ra-na* /*k^eerānā*/ 'vase à eau chaude' (: *tēromai* 'je me chauffe'). On a pensé que la décoration du vase comportait des dessins de roues. *A priori*, on pourrait aussi penser à une certaine espèce de vases créée par un homme nommé *a-mo-te-u*.
31. Les grammairiens anciens les qualifient de *emperiektiká* 'noms exprimant la notion de contenir'. À notre avis, ce suffixe -*ōn*- peut bien remonter aux anciens collectifs du type *leimōn k^eeimōn* (n. 28). Il figure aussi dans des toponymes comme *Sikuōn* 'champ de concombres'. Ainsi, le toponyme mycénien *a-ka-si-jo-ne* (dat.-loc. en -*eī*) peut être interprété comme *Akan-siōn* 'champ de chardons' (**akānsion* < *akānt^mion*).
32. Bien entendu, le type attique *andrōn* peut également s'expliquer comme aboutissement phonétique de *andreōn* (*eō* > *ō*).
33. La forme masculine de l'adjectif composé s'emploie aussi pour le féminin. Le mycénien utilise déjà l'adjectif verbal en -*to*- dans des composés 'déterminatifs' (endocentriques, *tatpuruṣa*) : type *a-ki-ti-to* /*áktitos*/ 'non cultivé' (§ 4). Il s'agit probablement d'une innovation : en général, les composés déterminatifs sont rares en grec ancien (Risch 1981 : 1-111). Ainsi, l'antonyme de *t^mnētós* 'mortel' n'est pas †*at^mnētos* mais *at^mánatos* 'qui n'a pas

de mort, immortel', composé 'possessif' (exocentrique, **bahuvrīhi**) dont le second membre est le nom d'action *t'ánatos* 'mort'. Ce nom remonte à **t'nh₂-eto-*, étant du même type que *nip^hetós* 'neige' (Waanders 1974). Comparer *áspetos* 'indicible, immense' (**sek^h-* 'raconter'). On est amené à conclure que le type *áktitos* repose sur la réinterprétation du type *áp^hatos* 'indicible, sans renom', originellement composé de **-p^hh₂-eto-*, comme composé de l'adjectif verbal *p^hatós* 'renommé' (< **p^hh₂tó-*).

34. C'est pourquoi les interprétations *aram^hotména* 'muni de roues' et *anárm^hotos* 'qui n'a pas de roues' sont incorrectes. En outre, il faut observer que l'élargissement *-t-* ne se trouve jamais dans les verbes dérivés de neutres en *-ma*. En réalité, on trouve le type ancien *onomainō* 'je nomme' < **onományō* (**-mñ-yō*) et le type plus récent *onomázo* < **onomá-d-yō*. De même, les adjectifs composés du type *ak^hrématos*, 'qui n'a pas de biens' (: *k^hréma*) ne sont attestés qu'à partir du Ve siècle av. J.-C. Homère n'emploie que les types plus anciens *anáimōn* 'qui n'a pas de sang' (*heíma*) et *áspermos* 'qui n'a pas de semence, de postérité'. Voir R. 1976 : 186-189, R. 1979b : 215-219.
35. Cf. plus tard *áūpnos* 'sans sommeil', de **á-hupnos*. Le mycénien fournit *a-e-ti-to* /*ahértitos*/ 'qui n'a pas reçu l'arome de la plante hertis' ; cf. Lejeune 1971 : 37-45.
36. Le degré zéro de la racine est ancien : cf. *tetugménos* de *teúk^hō* 'je fabrique', *pep^hugménos* de *p^heúgō* 'je fuis'. La forme relativement récente du parfait moyen a souvent le même sens que le parfait radical plus ancien (n. 13). Ains, *pep^hugménos* equivaut à *pep^heugós*. Par conséquent, *p^hep^hit^hménos* peut équivaloir à **p^hep^hit^hwós*, *pepoit^hós* 'ayant confiance'.
37. L'élément *-ā-* du suffixe masculin *-tā-* est un élargissement, dont l'origine est peu claire (cf. Risch 1974 : 31-37). L'élargissement est absent devant le suffixe de présent *-yō* et devant le suffixe *-io-* des adjectifs d'appartenance. Ainsi, le mycénien *a-e-ge-si-jo* /*hek^hésios*/ adjectif dérivé de *e-ge-ta* /*hek^hétās*/ 'suivant', peut-être 'membre de la suite du roi' (plus tard *hepétās*). C'est pourquoi l'anthroponyme *a-mo-ta-jo* (§ 12) s'explique mieux comme dérivé de **Arm^hót-ā-s* que comme dérivé de **Arm^hó-tā-s*.
38. Comparer l'anthroponyme *Hármōn*. Chez Homère, le nom patronymique *Harmonidēs* se réfère à un charpentier. L'adjectif *hármōn* (cf. *háрма*, *a-mo*, § 10) survit dans le nom dérivé *harmonía* 'joint' (emploi concret), 'accord, contrat' (emploi social métaphorique).
39. Le degré e qu'on trouve dans un mot comme *keur^hmós* 'cachette' doit donc être dû à une adaptation relativement récente. On peut penser à l'influence de *keur^hmón* (n. 28) et à la substitution de *keur^h-* à **kour^h-* dans la forme de parfait *kékeur^ha* 'je tiens



- caché'. — Quelques noms en *-mo-* sont barytons, par exemple *pótmos* 'sort, destin', *hórmos* 'chaîne, collier' (racine *ser-* 'enfiler, lier en file' : cf. *hormós* 'lacet'). L'accentuation barytone pourrait s'expliquer par le modèle des noms masculins barytons à suffixe *-o-* du type *móros* 'portion, sort, destin' ou des neutres en *-ma* (cf. *hérma* 'pendant de l'oreille' < **sér-mḡ*).
40. L'accentuation barytone pourrait s'expliquer par l'influence du type masculin *lók^hos* 'embuscade' ou du type neutre *lék^hos* 'lit' (cf. n. 39).
 41. Dans *krūmós* 'froid, frisson' < **krusmós*, en revanche, il s'agit de la racine *krús-* (degré zéro); cf. *krústallos* 'glace'.
 42. Comparer la restauration de *s* dans *ás-menos* 'content de s'être sauvé' (*as-* < **ṛs-*, degré zéro de *nes-* 'sauver'); voir R. 1987 : 542.
 43. On peut ajouter *harmé* 'jonction', 'cicatrice' (cf. *harmós*) et *hórmos* 'mouillage, lieu où les navires sont mis à l'eau' (cf. *hórmē*).
 44. La même observation vaut pour *hormē* en face de l'aoriste sigmatique **ērsa* (voir n. 8 : cf. *ōrsa* chez Homère).
 45. Avec degré *o*; cf. **korsmós* où *s* constituait originellement le segment final de la racine elle-même (§ 16).
 46. Après Homère, on trouve *drūmós*, avec *u* long emprunté à *drús*.
 47. De la même façon, *lúk^hnos* 'lampe' s'explique à partir d'un adjectif **luksnós*, dérivé du nom neutre **léwk^hos*, qui survit en avestique (*raocah-* 'lumière'). D'autre part, latin *lūna* 'lune' remonte à **louksna*, forme qui comporte le degré *o* de la racine (cf. russe *luna* 'lune').
 48. Comparer le nom masculin *odós* 'odeur' (gén. *odōris*) du latin archaïque. — La voyelle longue *ō* s'explique par la généralisation de la voyelle longue résultant de la contraction préhistorique du type *ant^hemódēs* qui a l'odeur de fleurs' (: *ant^hemon* 'fleur'), où *-ōd-* est l'aboutissement phonétique de **-o-od-* < **-o-h₂ed-*. — Le degré zéro **h₂d-s* > **ods-* > *os-*, — se retrouve dans *osp^hraínomai* 'je perçois une odeur'.
 49. La voyelle longue *ā* s'explique par la contraction préhistorique : *-ār-* < **-a-ar-* < **-o-h₂er-* (cf. n. 48).
 50. Dans la série PY Ta, les composés du type *puksohek^hēs* 'qui a un support en buis' (duel *pu-ko-so e-ke-e*) se rapportent au nom simple *hék^hma* (instr. plur. *e-ka-ma-pi*, § 10). Pour les neutres en *-os* et les composés en *-ēs* voir R. 1983.
 51. Exemple : *pu-ko-so, e-ke-e* (n. 50), la virgule répondant au tiret vertical qui exprime la frontière entre deux mots. Pour *en(n)ewópeza* à neuf pieds' (fém.), on trouve les deux graphies *e-ne-wo-pe-za* et *e-ne-wo, pe-za*. Sous ce rapport, il est intéressant d'observer qu'en KN R 1815, il y a une rature après *ka-ka*. Il semble donc que le scribe ait d'abord écrit *ka-ka-re* mais qu'ensuite, il ait préféré la graphie en deux mots. Bien entendu,

cette graphie est un peu maladroite, puisque la voyelle finale de *ka-ka* représente déjà le segment initial du second membre.

52. C'est pourquoi le vocatif de *Eurúp^hrôn* est *Eurúp^hron* non pas †*Eúr^hu-p^hron*. De même, dans les formes du verbe fini, l'accent ne se trouve jamais avant la syllabe finale du préverbe ou avant l'augment : type *perí-t^hes*, *par-é-sk^hon*. Si le neutre du type *k^halkêrs* est *k^halkêres*, non pas †*k^hálkêres*, c'est qu'au niveau synchronique, la voyelle longue <*ā*- (n. 49) représente à la fois la voyelle finale virtuelle du premier membre (*k^halko-*) et la voyelle initiale du second membre. De même, l'accentuation d'une forme verbale comme *apāge* > att. *apēge* s'explique du fait que la voyelle longue représente à la fois l'augment (temporel) et la voyelle initiale du thème verbal (contraction préhistorique : **h₁e-h₂eg-* > **a-ag-* > *āg-*). — Bien entendu, l'accentuation du type *eûêres euôdes* (originellement **h₁su-h₂éres*, —*h₃édes*) est analogique du type *k^halkêres*, *ant^hemôdes*.
53. L'oxytonaison se trouve même dans le type *p^here-ssakês* 'qui porte un bouclier', composé dont le premier membre est un verbe, qui portait originellement l'accent (cf. skr. *Trasá-dasyu-* 'qui fait trembler les ennemis').
54. Homère se sert aussi de *êûmārês* (même sens), adjectif oxyton dont le vocalisme *ā* pourrait être éolien.
55. Comparer aussi *árt^hron* 'articulation, membre (du corps)', nom qui au point de vue synchronique comporte le suffixe —*t^hro-* mais qui pourrait s'expliquer à partir d'un vieux nom neutre **h₂ért^h-r* bâti sur un thème **h₂er-t^h-*.
56. Ainsi, le grec a *ent-* dans le nom neutre *éntos* 'pièce d'équipement' (myc. *e-te-do-mo* /*entesdómos*/ 'celui qui construit des pièces d'équipement') vis-à-vis de *en-* dans le nom neutre **énar* dont le pluriel *énara* 'armes enlevées à l'ennemi abattu' se trouve chez Homère. Les verbes dérivés *entúō* et *entúnō* 'j'équipe, je prépare' se comparent à *artúō* et *artúnō*, tant au point de vue morphologique qu'au point de vue sémantique.
57. D'habitude, on fait dériver *artúō* du nom d'action *artús* 'ordre, arrangement', mais rien n'empêche de partir d'un vieux nom neutre **ártu* < **h₂órt-u* (cf. *dakrúō* 'je pleure' de *dákru* 'larme').
58. En grec, le type *êrasúnō* 'j'encourage' fonctionne comme dérivé factitif de l'adjectif *êrasús* 'courageux'. Il est donc possible que *artúnō* soit le dérivé d'un adjectif **artús* **h₂rt-ú-*). — De même, le verbe moyen *árnumai* 'Je gagne, j'obtiens' pourrait être dérivé d'un adjectif **arús* 'muni' < **h₂r-ú-s*. En effet, les plus anciens présents grecs en —*nū-mi* (originellement *—*neu-mi*) remontent en principe à des verbes factitifs où l'infixe nasal s'insérait entre la racine et le suffixe —*éw-*/—*u-* de l'adjectif : type hittite *aš-n-u* 'rendre bon' < **h₁s-n-éw-* (cf. **h₁s-ú-s* > *eūs* 'bon'). L'actif **árnūmi*



doit donc avoir signifié 'je munis quelqu'un de quelque chose', le moyen *árnumai* 'je me munis de quelque chose'. Dans cette hypothèse, bien entendu, il faut admettre que la construction du verbe a changé : l'accusatif du complément direct s'est substitué à l'instrumental. Comparer la construction de *dōrōmai* originellement *dōrōmai tiná tini* 'je dote quelqu'un de quelque chose', puis également *dōrōmai tini ti* 'je donne quelque chose à quelqu'un' (influence de la construction du verbe *dídōmi* 'je donne').

59. L'actif **artēō* n'est pas attesté. Il s'agit du type *p^horēō* dérivé à valeur intensive-fréquentative, ce qui invite à partir de **h₂ortéy-e/o-*. Pour l'actif, on trouve *artízō* (cf. *komízō* verbe qui a fini par supplanter *komēō* 'je soigne'), forme qui pourrait être dérivé de l'adverbe *árti*.
60. D'après les lois phonétiques, on attendrait **ársi* en ionien-attique, si bien qu'il faut admettre la restauration analogique du *t*. La même restauration se trouve dans *ártios* 'qui s'adapte, juste, prêt' et 'pair' (terme arithmétique). L'aboutissement phonétique se rencontre en revanche dans *anársios* 'qui ne s'adapte pas, ennemi, étrange, indigne'. La réinterprétation de *árt-i* comme *ár-ti* peut avoir servi d'amorce à la création des adverbes en *-ti* dérivés de verbes en *-zō* : type *onomastí* 'en mentionnant le nom', de *onomázō* 'je nomme, je mentionne'. L'accentuation oxytone pourrait s'expliquer par l'influence des adverbes du type *anidrōtel* 'sans suer'.
61. Pour le degré zéro de la racine, comparer *krát-istos* 'le plus fort' < **krt-*. L'accentuation récessive du superlatif grec peut s'expliquer par l'influence du comparatif.
62. En KN So 4437, la graphie *a-ro₂-jo* pourrait s'expliquer par une espèce de contamination. Après le génitif singulier *pte-re-wa /ptelēwās/* 'de bois d'orme', on attendrait la forme *áryohos*, pour laquelle les graphies **a-ro₂-o* et **a-ri-jo-o* seraient correctes.
63. Pour le degré *e* de la racine, comparer ion. *kréssōn* 'plus fort', de **krét-yos-*. La coïncidence phonétique des deux degrés apophoniques dans *áryos-* et *áristos* explique l'introduction du degré *e* dans le superlatif *mégistos* 'le plus grand', attesté dans l'anthroponyme féminin *me-ki-to-ki-ri-ta /Megistokrítā/*. Le degré zéro **mgh₂->aga-* (cf. l'adjectif neutre **mégh₂>méga*) survit au premier membre de composés comme *agakleēs* 'qui a une grande renommée' (R. 1980 : 196).
64. Pour le degré zéro tant de la racine que du suffixe, comparer *puki-mēdēs* 'qui a des conseils solides, intelligent' (R. 1980 : 196).
65. Bien entendu, l'interprétation de beaucoup d'anthroponymes est incertaine. Il n'y a pas d'interprétation satisfaisante pour l'anthroponyme *e-ri-ta-qi-jo*.



66. L'adjectif est dérivé de *h₁es->es- 'être là'. Il doit avoir exprimé originellement la notion de 'disponible et utilisable' ('qui est là pour quelqu'un'; R. 1985a : 163-164).
67. Comme dans ces formes à vocalisme radical *a* et *e* le degré zéro originel n'était plus perceptible, le grec a pu créer des présents comportant le degré *e* de la racine : *p^hlegét^hō* 'je brûle'.
68. Cf. *Iliade* 4 362-363 *taûta d' ópist^hen aressómet^h ei ti kakón nûn êrētai* 'plus tard, nous réglerons cette affaire à l'amiable, si quelque mot fâcheux a été dit'. Noter la présence de *kakós* 'mauvais, fâcheux' dans le contexte.
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A Folktale Complex and old Mythology

Sukumar Sen

I.

Domestic unhappiness of young persons who are competent amiable and good, finally removed by the blessing from a supernatural person or agency is the central theme of not a few folktales in some languages rich in such a literature. I have noticed twelve such tales in seven languages which in spite of wide distribution form a group, and they appear to have originated from an old myth or two. As the stories are probably not all of them well known I recount them briefly. The order is according to the date of the collection or the first appearance in print (either in original or in translation). The stories are in German, Armenian, Persian and Indo-Aryan—all IE languages.

1. From A. J. and W. Grimm : **Frau Holle**, English translation (1826). GI.

A widow had two daughters, one pretty and good and the other ugly and bad. The second, perhaps the younger, however, was the pet of the mother. The first girl had to do the domestic chores. One day as she was spinning cotton while seated on a bench on the roadside her fingers bled from the heavy work and the blood spoiled the spindle. As she was dipping it in a well the spindle dropped into it. She was asked angrily by her mother to get down into the well and recover the spindle. She went down the well but found there in stead of deep water a sunlit meadow and a cottage near a wood. She went into the cottage and was asked by a piece of bread on the oven to take it out before it was burnt and spoiled. She promptly took the bread out of the oven. Then she was passing by an apple tree laden with ripe fruits. The tree asked the girl to shake it in order to relieve it of the heavy burden of the fruits. She obeyed. Then she came to a small cottage and met an old woman sitting at the door. She was welcomed and asked by the old woman to stay on as her maid. Her special task would be making the bed and shake the dust out of it every morning at the door, so that the feathers may fly away, and thereby the good people down below would think it was snowing. After some time the girl wanted to



return home. The old woman agreed. The spindle was given back to her as well as a golden dress, and a shower of gold fell on her as she was coming out of the door of the cottage. When she arrived home a cock cried in welcome.

The mother now wanted that her pet daughter also would have the same experience and profit, but as she was essentially a bad girl she did not pay heed to the cry of the bread, the request of the tree nor did she obey the old woman. She received from the old woman only a shower of black pitch which made her uglier. When she came back home the cock cried in derision.

2. From Folktales of Germany edited by Kurt Rauke and translated by Lotte Baumann (1966): **The Cruel Stepmother** ("recorded about 1860...in the Upper Palatinate, Bavaria"). G 2.

A poor man's wife died leaving him a son and a daughter. A woman induced the children to appeal to the father to marry her so that she would feed them plenty. The man married the woman. She was good to the children for a day or two and then she was tired of them and asked her husband to take them away from home.

The man took them to the forest and left them there but the girl was clever and she could pick their way back home. Their return enraged the step-mother still more. The man again took them away to deeper forest and left them there. This time they could not trace their way back home. They wandered in the forest and came to a spring. The boy wanted to drink from it but was cautioned by the spring not to drink from it as it would make him all black. Then they came to another spring which when approached invited the boy to drink from it so that he would become all golden hued. The boy drank from it and he became a golden stag wearing a ribbon of silk.

They made their quarter in the hollow of a beech tree and was fed daily by the Holy Virgin. There was a castle near by. The Lord of the castle met the girl with the golden stag and married her. They were brought to the castle. The girl did not part with the stag.

Now the girl fell ill. She was nursed by a girl who looked much like her and who liked to take her place as the mistress of the castle. She threw the girl out of the window at night and the Holy Virgin caught her up and kept her in her cloak. The nurse now posed as the sick girl and her mother was brought in to nurse her.

The girl who posed as the sick mistress of the castle now asked

her "husband" to kill the stag and cook and serve her his lung and liver. The stag was brought over on the bridge of the castle and as the butcher was going to kill he cried out,

"Sister mine, deep in the Lake,
You and I are forsaken,
My lung and liver shall be taken."

From the depth of the water of the moat came out the voice of the sister in reply,

"Brother dear, high on the bridge,
You and I are forsaken,
Your lung and liver shall be taken."

The killing of the stag was instantly stopped. The lord of the castle came to the bridge to inquire and he saw his lawful wife floating in the water of the moat. She was pulled out of water and then she told her husband what had happened. She was brought to the castle and the evil girl was burned at the stake.

3. Lal Behari Day, Folk-tales of Bengal (1983) : **'The Bald Wife'**. English (from Bengali unrecorded) BI.

A man had two wives. The junior was the favourite. She had black, long and profuse hair. The elder wife on the other hand was almost bald. The man was away from home for some days. One day the younger wife asked the other to pick lice off her hair. While doing so the bald lady inadvertently pulled out one or two strands of hair. This made the younger lady angry and she drove her senior out of home, telling her not to return. As there was nowhere to go she made straight for the forest. On the way she saw a cotton plant in a thicket of weeds needing care and she stopped to clear the weeds and trim the plant. Next she came to a plantain tree also in similar plight requiring care and she cleared the undergrowth round it. Next she saw a brahminical bull in a shed which was in a mess, needing clearing, and she swept it clean and gave some grass to the bull. Lastly she saw a *Tulasi* (basil) plant and watered it and made her reverence. Finally she came to a cottage in front of which a *muni* (sage) sat in deep meditation. She stood by quietly until the sage broke his meditation and took cognizance of her. She, asked by him, told him the cause of her leaving home. He told her to go to the pond near-by and take a plunge. She did so and her appearance was instantly changed. She became a fine lady with long, black luxurious hair. The sage then bade her to go into the hut and choose

as a present any one of the caskets stored there. She went in and chose the smallest one which when opened later, was found to be full of inexhaustible pearls and precious stones. As she was returning homeward she received gifts : the blessing of conjugal love from the *Tulasi* plant, two cowrie-shell bangles (which when shaken would always produce cash) from the horns of the bull, a leaf from the plantain plant which would instantly produce abundant food whenever required, and the cotton plant gave her a branch which when shaken would produce all kind of woven stuff, cotton or silk. After her return home she won the love of her husband and became the lady of the house and the junior wife became her maid.

4. Charles Swynnerton : '**Lāl Bādshāh, the Red King ; or, the Two Little Princesses**' (Indian Nights' Entertainment, 1892). The story was collected from Upper Indus. U.

The wife of a king died leaving two beautiful young daughters. The king married again, mainly for the sake of the children. But the step-mother did not like the girls. Her dislike grew day by day and she began to starve them by giving bad food. This was, however, compensated by the dead mother. At her grave, which the girls took much care of, good food was always available for them. So they were growing up healthy and fit. This drew the notice of the step-mother who set her pet cat to watch the activity of the two girls. The cat gave her the information.

The step-mother then feigned serious illness which could be recovered only by digging up the grave and scattering away the bones. It was done. But a fine plum tree grew up on the spot, and its fruits gave the girls the same nourishment as before. Soon the watch cat reported the matter to her lady. Again serious illness was feigned and the plum tree was destroyed.

But the step-mother now could not stand the sight of girls. She commanded her husband to dispose of them. The king took the girls to a deep forest and left them there.

The helpless girls roamed about in search of their father and they came to a high rock. Near the rock there was a castle. They came to the castle and were met by an ogress who took kindly to them. She contrived to hide them from the grasp of his man-eating son during his presence in the night. On the morning she asked them to go elsewhere.

They came back to the forest and took their lodge in a tall and

leafy tree. The elder girl kept house and in the spare time sew silk. The younger sister kept a herd of deer for the supply of milk.

On one day a young king named Lal Bādshāh (i.e. 'Red King') came there with his party to hunt. He killed a partridge and asked his minister to get it cooked. The minister while searching for fire to cook the game saw a column of smoke rising up at a distance. It was the smoke from the oven of the sisters' lodge. The minister came there and as he was cooking he chanced to cast his gaze upward and see the elder princess sewing silk. The strange and beautiful sight stupified him. He forgot the pot on the oven, and the partridge was spoiled. At this the minister was terrified for the consequences, and he wept. The princess took pity on him, came down and cooked a partridge for him and gave him some milk too for the repast of his master.

The king was pleased with the food. He wanted to know how the minister had managed it. But the latter would not tell him anything. The king was highly displeased with his stubbornness and on his repeated refusal ordered the minister to be put to death.

The minister opened his mouth at the last moment when he was just about to be killed. The king pardoned him and at once came to the tree and found the beautiful girl there on the tree. He married her without any delay and took her with him and went back home.

The younger sister was not there when all this was happening, and she could not be informed of the fate of her sister. The sagacious elder princess had taken one precaution for such a contingency. She had given her sister a rose in perpetual bloom which when fading would indicate a danger for her self. The rose now began to fade. So the younger princess hastened home, but found it empty. The elder sister had taken a step for guiding the younger sister in following her trail; she had cast mustard seeds all along as she had proceeded on her way to the king's palace. The younger princess found them and traced her sister to the city. She could now easily guess what had happened to her sister.

She built a cottage by the bank of a brook running outside the city limits, and she kept watch for any unusual happening. On one day she found a newborn baby lying abandoned on the bank of the brook. It was the new born baby of her sister. Her rivals in the palace had quickly substituted a basket of coal for the baby, and they showed the basket as containing what had been delivered by the new queen. The king was angry and considering her a witch

threw the queen into the dungeon.

The younger princess picked up the baby and took it home and reared it fondly. She soon came to know it was her nephew.

The baby was now four or five years old. Noticing that the king often passed by their cottage so that his horse would have a drink from the brook, she built for her nephew a wooden horse and told him to take it to the brink of the brook and ask it to drink water whenever the king would be doing so. The boy acted as he was told.

The king was curious at this behaviour of the boy. He followed the boy to their cottage. Standing outside and eavesdropping he came to know the identity of the two inmates of the cottage. Enlightenment came to him. The queen was reunited with her husband and son. The younger princess was comfortably settled.

5. Alice Elizabeth Dracott, Simla Village Tales (1906) '**The Story of the Black Cow**', English (from Pahari unrecorded). H.

The son of a Brahmin and his half-sister herded cattle in the field. The step-mother gave the boy only some bread prepared from wheat largely mixed with ashes as his ration. A black cow from their herd took pity on the boy and daily fed him with her milk. His step-mother came to know of this surreptitious feeding and she was determined to kill the cow. The cow knowing it, ran away with the boy into the forest. There was a deep hole somewhere in the forest. The cow used to pour milk into the hole daily and the milk was drunk by the serpent and the bull that deep down held up together the universe. On one day the serpent came up and blessed the boy, and henceforth the boy shone as gold and wore golden apparel. A fish one day gobbled a strand of his golden hair as he was bathing in the river. The fish was caught and sold to the house of the king. The daughter of the king saw the golden hair and she was eager to meet the person it had belonged to. The boy was ultimately found and subsequently married to the princess. The cow was forgotten for some time. One day the boy was served with clotted milk which happened to bring back to him the memory of the beloved cow. He forthwith went to the place in the forest where they had last been together. There he now found only a few scattered bones. The boy wept over the bones and in grief he was about to do away with himself when lo ! the cow appeared before him. After this happy reunion the two finally went their own way.

6. Daksinaranjan Mitra-Majumdar's *Thākurmār Jhuli* (1907). '**Sukhu ār Dukhu**', Bengali. B 2.



A weaver had two daughters by his two wives. When the weaver had died the junior wife took possession of her husband's cash and property and turned the senior and her daughter out of home. Driven out of home the two now lived in distress. On one day the girl was guarding cotton wool drying in the sun when a blast of the wind carried away the cotton. The girl wept and the wind asked her to follow. As she was following the cotton blown away by the wind she was called on the wayside first by a cow to sweep her shed clean then by a plantain tree to free it from the climbing creepers, next by a *sheorā* tree to weed out the undergrowth and finally by a horse to supply it fodder. She obediently did all that she was told. Following the wind she ultimately came to a white mansion where in the front terrace sat a fine old lady, the mother of the moon, spinning cotton. The girl begged the lady to give back her cotton wool. But the lady asked her to be her guest and told her to take two plunges in the tank and then come in and pick up suitable clothes for herself and partake of some food. She took two plunges which turned her into a beautiful girl. She was modest in her choice of clothes and food. Before leaving she was told to choose for herself a casket from the store-room, and she took the smallest. As she went back she collected the gifts from those she had served on her way in. The horse gave her a colt, the *sheorā* tree a pot of cash, the plantain tree a bunch of golden fruit and the cow a heifer. She came home, to her mother happily. The casket was opened at night and her future husband came out of it.

On knowing the good fortune of the step-daughter the junior wife now made her own daughter follow the same routine. But the girl was selfish and uncivil to all. She returned home much uglier than before but with a huge basket. When opened at night the basket produced a big serpent that gobbled her up.

7. C. Downing Armenian Folk-tales, parables and Rhymes (1972). 'The Fair Maiden Sunbeam and the Serpent'. English (from an Armenian original collected in 1912). A I.

A king had no child. One day he saw in the garden a mother serpent playing with her young and he prayed to God that he may be granted an issue even if it be a serpent. God heard his prayer and in time his queen gave birth to a serpent. The king did not discard it. It was reared as his son. The serpent, however, grew up into a dragon in course of a week, and he would not accept any food. One day a young girl happened to pass by the serpent and he suddenly caught and devoured her. From that day the serpent had to be supplied daily with a young girl as his ration. On one



day as the king's soldiers were out in search for the human food for the serpent prince they came by a beautiful girl with golden hair sitting disconsolately under a tree. They got hold of her and took her to the serpent and dropped her down from the top of the cage. As soon as she touched the bottom the girl accosted the serpent, asking him to welcome her as Sunbeam from God. The prince on hearing the name of God at once cast off his reptilian skin and stood before her a splendid young man. The king and his people were overjoyed. Now as the prince wanted to marry the girl the king soon joined them in wedlock, one day the king asked his daughter-in-law about her family and parentage. Then the girl gave him the following accounts.

She was an orphan girl living with her step-mother and was compelled to do heavy domestic work. She had to spin a bushel of wool daily while she would be herding the cattle in the fields. She was given only a half of a piece of bread as her ration. On one day as she was spinning wool while seated on a rock by the side of a hill the rock suddenly opened a crack and her bobbin slipped from her hand and disappeared into it. On looking through the crevice she could see an old woman whom she begged to hand out her bobbin. The woman replied that she was old and infirm and so could not reach up to the crevice. She told the girl to come through the door of the cave which opened from the ravine. The girl got down into the ravine, saw the door and entered the cave-dwelling of the old lady. She found her bobbin and was turning back when she found that the door had disappeared. The old woman, however, reassured her that she would be let out after she had some talk with her. She first asked the girl to take a broom and sweep the floor of the house. When she had done it the lady put up to her the question : "Whose house is cleaner, mine or your's ?" She replied : "Yours" Next she asked the girl to brush her hair. When it was done she asked ; "whose hair is cleaner, mine or your mother's ?" "Your, grandmother", she replied. There was water running along the walls of the cave and the streams ran into a small pool. Then the old lady went to sleep placing her head on the knees of the girl. She was to be awakened when the black and the red water had ceased to flow and the yellow water would be flowing. She did as was told. The old lady wakened, and suddenly she seized the girl by the feet and plunged her head into the yellow water, and her hair became the colour of gold. The old lady then opened the door and bade her adieu.

The girl came out and to avoid her step-mother's jealousy wanted to cover her golden head before returning home. She saw a shepherd



and asked him to kill a sheep for their feed. The shepherd killed a sheep and cooked its meat and they ate. Then she took the stomach of the sheep and wore it as a skull cap completely covering her top. When the day was drawing to a close and the skin cap was dry she returned home. But her golden hair could not be kept hidden, for long from the eyes of her step-mother and she had to tell her everything that had happened to her. The woman now wanted such golden hair for her own daughter. So the operation was repeated on the next day. The half-sister however was an uncivil and unruly girl. She did not do what the old lady told her to do and she did give impolite answers to the questions put to her. She was therefore thrown into the black pool and came out black and ugly. When she returned home the step-mother became angrier and turned her step-daughter out of home. So she was helplessly sitting at the foot of the tree when the king's men caught her and brought her to the palace.

8. Ibid. **'The Red Cow'**. English (from Armenian, collected in 1914). A2.

A shepherd's wife died leaving a son and a daughter and their pet a red cow. After some time the shepherd married again mainly for looking after the children. But the step-mother did not like them in the least. The shepherd, soon aware of it, engaged his children in tending the flock in the fields so that they may avoid the wrath of their step-mother. The red cow took pity on them and told them to run about and play while she would watch the sheep.

The step-mother did not give them sufficient food but the cow gave them enough milk for sustenance. The woman gave birth to a daughter. She grew up to be an ugly and spoilt child and when she was ten years old she accompanied her half-brother and sister to the field to tend the flock. The red cow gave milk to her also but it tasted bitter to her and she could not consume it. The step-mother was puzzled to note that her own daughter, in spite of overfeeding, was getting uglier and scrawnier while the other two children, on starving ration, were flourishing. Soon she came to learn from her daughter that the other two children were fed milk by the red cow. She was determined to kill the cow. The cow guessed her intention and she told the two children of it and instructed them to get a cupful of her blood and smear their faces with it so that they would shine like gold. She also told them to collect her bones and hooves and bury them under the manger in the shed. She then took them to an old woman dwelling in a mountain cave who promised to take care of the children thereafter. On returning home the cow told the



children to cut off one of her horns and keep it with them. Whenever they would feel hungry or thirsty they could suck it to get nourishment and satisfaction. The cow was killed and the children did as they were told.

One day the family was invited to a royal wedding. The step-mother and her daughter went there, leaving the orphans all alone at home. As soon as they were gone there was a moo of the red cow coming out from the shed and at the same time the old woman of the mountain cave appeared and brought from under the manger beautiful clothes for the children to wear for the royal ceremony. So they also attended the function but they came away just before the return of the party of the step-mother. On the second day of the ceremony the orphans came home as on the day before. But this time as they were returning the girl had dropped one of her silver slippers near a pond in the royal garden. It was found next morning by the stable boy of the prince and he took it to his master. It was a girl's slipper and the prince was keen in finding its owner. She was at last located and was duly married to the prince. The old woman of the mountain cave managed it all.

Even then the step-mother did not drop her evil intentions. She invited her step-daughter for a meal at her home. When the princess came she was kept imprisoned by the step-mother who clothed her own daughter in the robes of the princess and sent her to the palace to impersonate her half-sister. But the prince found her out almost at once. The princess was rescued and the mother and her daughter were killed. The orphans were now free of all troubles.

9. D. L. R. Lorimer and E. O. Lorimer, *Persian Tales* (1919) : **'Little Fatima'**. English (from unrecorded Persian collected from Kerman). Pl.

The school teacher (female) of a young girl induced her pupil to bring about the death of her mother by pushing her into a big vat of oil. She then contrived to become the girl's step-mother. A daughter was born to her. The older girl then fell into her disfavour. (The dead mother had come back to her as a yellow cow). She had to tend the cattle, card and spin cotton and do other chores. One day some cotton wool was blown away by a gust of the wind and fell into a well. The girl followed it into the bottom of the well where she met a demoness. The demoness was pleased with her *salaam* and she commanded the girl to do the following : (i) to crack her head, (ii) to break all the water-pots, and (iii) to pull down the house. The girl had been warned by the yellow cow to do the



opposite of what the demoness might tell her, and she so did the opposite of what she was told to do. She combed the demoness's hair neatly, filled all the empty water-pots, and swept the floors of the house clean. She was then asked by the demoness to go into the treasure room and take for herself whatever she liked. She however took only her piece of cotton and nothing else. As she was going out the demoness called the white cloud to give her a shake up. She was thoroughly shaken up but nothing fell out from her; she stuck to her piece of cotton. When she was up near the top of the well the demoness called the black cloud to give the girl a thorough shake up, but nothing happened. The demoness then called out a blessing to the girl: "May a moon grow on your forehead and a star on your chin". The girl came home but kept her face covered. Soon the step-mother came to know of the moon and the star on the face of the girl and then she wanted her own daughter to be similarly blessed. But the other girl behaved outrageously and she returned branded with a donkey's ears on her forehead and a donkey's tail growing from her chin.

The king's daughter was to be married. The step-mother and her daughter went up to the king's palace to see the fun. The other girl was left at home with the task of separating peas and lentils from a mixed heap and of filling up a jar with tears. The yellow cow helped her with the tasks and the girl soon found time to go to the palace and see the fun. The cow supplied her with the proper dress and shoes. Before the function was over the girl had to reach home before the arrival of her step-mother and her sister. In her haste she lost a shoe at the palace. The son of the king found it and sent out emissaries to find the girl who owned it. When an emissary came to the house of the girl her step-mother kept the girl hidden in an oven under cover. But a cock perched on it revealed the girl. She was married to the prince.

10. D. L. R. Lorimer and E. O. Lorimer, *Persian Tales* (1919): **'How Fatima Killed Her Mother....'** English (from unrecorded Persian collected from the Bakhtiari nomads). P2.

A tattooer (woman) induced a young girl to kill her mother in an ingenious way. She was to request her mother to pick for her a pomegranate from a high branch of the tree in their garden, and when she would be plucking the fruit the girl would shout from below telling that her mother's younger brother was dead. The sudden delivery of the bad news made the lady nervous and unsteady. She fell down from the tree and died. The tattooer very soon managed to become the step-mother, and in course of time two

daughters were born to her. The dead mother told her daughter in a dream to get a yellow cow from her uncle. The cow helped the girl. When the step-mother came to know it she feigned illness and was advised by the physician (who was in collusion with her) to have blood bath for cure. So the cow was killed. The girl collected the bones and kept them. On a second dream from her mother she proceeded as in the Kermani version. But the demon here was male. He put two tasks and two questions to her : (i) "Comb my hair and say whether it is better than your mother's ;" and (ii) "string tight the waterskins and say whether they are better than your mother's". She did as she was told and gave polite replies to the questions. The demon then lay down to sleep, placing his head on her lap and asking to be awakened when the black cloud would pass and the white cloud would appear. He was awakened in time and he was pleased with the girl. He gave her blessings, and made a gift of a pair of gold-slippers. As she was returning home wearing the slippers she lost a slipper on the way. It was recovered by a prince who had it traced to its owner, and then he married her.

It so happened that on one day the princess was bathing in the same pool in a forest where her step-sisters were also bathing. They caught hold of her by her locks and made her fast at the root of a tree growing near the water of the pool. Soon a tiger came there and devoured her, sparing only a single drop of blood. From this drop of blood sprang up a stout reed which was cut down by a shepherd and made into a whistling pipe. The prince heard the pipe as if it was singing the sad fate of his wife, and he took it from the shepherd and gave it to his infant son to play. In the meantime one of the step-sisters had managed to become the substitute of her dead half-sister. The playing of the pipe annoyed her and she took it away from the child and threw it in to a jar. Soon the mother of the child came out of the jar in the presence of her husband. The step-sisters were put to death.

11. Kunja Behari Das, *Loka-galpa Sancayana* (Bhuvaneswar, 1964, p 618 ff) : '**Sunā Jharanā** (literally the Golden Shower). Oriya (collected by Gopal Chandra Praharaja in 1918 from Nilgiri near Balasore, Orissa).

A king had two sons and a daughter. The queen who was dearly loved by her husband died. AFTER Sometime the king married again. The new queen was a very beautiful lady. At first she liked the step-children and looked after them. But when a son was born to her she began to lose interest in her step-children, and gradually her indifference turned in to neglect and maltreatment. Finally she



could not stand the sight of them and she sent them away escorted by a maid who was instructed to have them killed. The king was told that the children had gone to visit their mother's people.

The maid made no attempt to kill the children. She left them in the depth of a forest and came away to report to the queen that the children were no more.

When it was night the children laid themselves down in the grass under a tree and fell asleep. At midnight a sage (*ṛṣi*) came there. He took pity on them and gave them his blessing in concrete form. He gave to the boys a golden deer (*mṛga*; cow?) and to the girl a diamond ring with two facets. The golden deer would supply anything desired and the diamond would indicate, when a facet would get dark, that either of her brothers was in great danger. The golden deer enabled them to settle there in comfort.

Sometime afterward a forest ranger (*banuyā*) saw them and this report reached the ears of their step-mother. She sent a witch to do harm to them. She came to them and told them of the wonderful golden spring that was there high up a steep mountain. The elder brother was at once tempted to go up there. Before he came to the spring he met a sage (*ṛṣi*). The sage told him not to go up to the spring. But the boy would not listen to him. The sage then told him that the spring was in a temple guarded by four serpents which could be made inactive only by one holding some leaves of a *seorā* plant which stood nearby. Moreover there was a bird perched on the top of the temple. The bird talks like a man and asks questions. But one must not make any reply. If he does so he would turn into stone. The elder boy did not pay heed to the warning of the sage and did not take the precautions. He was turned into stone as soon he had given a reply to the bird.

The sister knew from her ring, one of its facets turning dark, that her brother was in danger. The younger boy then went up in search of the brother. He met the sage and was warned by him as his brother had been. He too did not take heed to the warnings of the sage and fared as his brother.

The sister now knew that both her brothers were in extreme danger. She went up herself and met the sage. The sage gave her the same warnings. She however carefully followed his instructions. She went up to the temple, subdued the snakes and had drenched herself in the golden shower. She gave no reply to the talking bird. The bird then told her to take a feather off it and with it touch

the two stones lying nearby. She did so and her brothers at once come back to life.

The king was out ahunting. He happened to meet the children in their forest home. He took them back home. He heard their tale. The queen was excuted in the traditional manner. The daughter was married to a desirable young man and the elder son was installed as the crown prince.

12. Ralf Tragers, A Comparative study of a Bengali Folktale (Calcutta, 1966, APP. 3) : '**Kuku Mata**' English (from Bengali from a Muslim lady, Tarakeswar, District Hooghly, West Bengal.) B 3.

There were two young step-sisters in a family. The elder was an orphan. She had to do the chores. They had a cow that gave milk to sustain her. The step-mother came to know of it and wanted to do away with the cow. She feigned illness and a dishonest physician (as in P 2) prescribed for her cure a bath in the blood of the cow. The cow was killed and the girl collected her bones, the halter and the peg as previously instructed by the cow. According to instruction of the cow she went afield and placed the bones at the corners of a square field and put the halter and the peg in the centre. On the next day she found there a fine house standing with a garden around, and she would always find ready meal there. One day as she was coming away from the house she met an old woman sitting by the roadside. The woman asked the girl to pick lice from her head, and when that was done she wanted to have some sleep, laying her head on the lap of the girl who was told to wake her up at the time of prayer (*namāz*). She did as she was told. The woman was pleased with her and gave her the blessing that pearls would fall when she would weep and gems would fall when she would laugh and she gave her a pair of golden slippers to wear. Her step-mother came to know of it and she would have the same blessings for her own daughter also, but as the latter acted contrary to the bidding of the woman she returned home an ugly girl producing insects and worms when she laughed and wept, and dropping cowdung as she stepped.

The girl one day lost a slipper and that slipper was traced to her. She was married to the king's son who had fallen in love with her slipper. The step-mother on the first opportunity put a charm on the good girl's head and she was turned into a bird. The bad girl then became a substitute for the good and took her place in the palace as the wife of the prince. The bird perched on a tree in the front of the gate of the palace and daily would enquire whether



everybody had dined. The prince came to know about the bird and had it caught for him. As he was caressing the bird the charm fell off from the head and the girl regained her proper form and looks. The bad girl was cut up and cooked and her mother was presented with the head. (B 3)

2.

The twelve tales summarized above are fairly widely distributed,—from Germany in the west and Bengal and Orissa in the east. Two (G1, G2) come from Westphalia and Bavaria in West Germany, two (A1, A2) from Armenian speaking Anatolia and North-West Persia, two from Iran—one from the province of Kerman (P1) and the other from the Bakhtiari people (P2), one (L) from Upper Indus, one (H) from Northern India (Himalayan region), three from Bengal and one from Orissa. Of the three Bengali versions one (B1) is from the district of Burdwan, another (B2) from the district of Murshidabad in West Bengal, and the third (B3) was collected recently (1961) from a Muslim lady from a village near Tarakeswar in the district of Hooghly in West Bengal. One story (V) was collected from Northeastern Orissa sometime in the second decade of the century.

The twelve stories, some of which may be taken apparently as variants, form a unit of a sort as they all have the central theme of oppression of a girl or woman, or a girl and a boy or boys by a commanding woman at home and the deliverance coming from some superhuman agency. If we take into account the nature of the domestic activities involved, the stories would show roughly two obvious strata. One stratum can be called the agricultural and the other the pastoral. The agricultural stratum contains five stories, G 1-2, B-1, B-2 and O, and the pastoral also five stories, A1, A2, H and P 1-2. The remaining story (B3) shows the characteristics of the both. It had probably belonged originally to the Agricultural group but a superimposition of the other group has washed away some of the traces of the former.

The characteristic features of the main motifs of the stories belonging to the first stratum are as follows. (i) The deity is at the moment outside her residence (or cottage or shed). (ii) The person is helpful in domestic chore including tending plants and animals. (iii) One of the major occupations of the family is cotton growing, cotton wool carding or cotton spinning. The other stratum indicates the following characteristic motifs. (i) The deity is within her abode which is usually a cave or a grove. (ii) Sheep and cattle are herded, (iii) A cow is killed. In some stories of the group there is the additional

motif of wool spinning which perhaps indicates a link between the two strata. The appearance of the cow (or the bull), and in one version also of a horse, is a feature, minor or major, common to all the tales. In the "agricultural" tales the cow (or the bull) is not without significance; it is an object of affection and veneration. In the "pastoral" tales the cow takes a still more important position. She is an assistant to the deity, if not actually her representative, all through. In fact in most of the "pastoral" tales her role as the deity is overshadowed or eliminated by the imposition of the cave-dwelling old woman (or demon).

On a close and deep scrutiny the twelve stories told above clearly show that they belong to a distinct group inspite of so many divergences. Their unity lies in the fact that the affected person—once a hero but almost always a heroine or both (who are uterine brother and sister) is (or are) driven away from home by the oppressions of a step-mother (or a co-wife) and the relief comes from the hand of a bountiful deity or of a benevolent spirit. The heroine (or hero) either proves her worth before she meets the deity or she is put to test by the deity or the spirit. In any case the heroine (or her associate hero) would have to take a plunge or two in a pool or to have some kind of bath or shower. This was a symbol of initiation or a stamp of approval. (In one story, B3, there is no mention of bath. The story is a late version and the omission of bath is not deemed significant).

A clear cut dichotomy of the group of stories may be based on the situation and appearance of the deity or spirit. In one sub-group (A) she appears as a lady sitting just outside the door of her abode (or hall or shed) or standing or sitting away from it. In the other sub-group (B) she is stationed within her abode which is either a cave or a hole or grove. In two stories (B 1, 0) the deity is represented by a sage, and in another (G2) she is identified as the Holy Mother.

The stories can be further classified into sub-groups according to some salient features. It is attempted below.

In some stories (sub-subgroup c) the deity or the spirit has either a bovine agent or is represented by a cow. In three stories (sub-subgroup d) there is no cow but there is a stag (or a golden stag) or its replica, the agent of the deity.

Promise of marriage (in case of an unmarried girl or boy) or of restoration to the husband's love (in case of the married girl in B

1) is implied in some stories (sub-subgroup e) while in the rest satisfactory marriage is detailed. These stories, numbering eight, fall into two clusters. In one (sub-subgroup cluster f) there is no further trouble after the marriage, but in the other (sub-subgroup cluster g) the marriage is marred for a while by the wiles of the antagonist who substitutes her daughter for the lawful bride and attempts to disgrace her. From out of the five stories of this cluster four also show the Cinderella motif (sub-cluster h).

The following diagram may help in understanding the grouping of the stories.

A : G 1-2, B 1-3, O
B : A 1-2, P 1-2, U, H

e : A 2, P 1-2, B 3, H
d : G 2, O, U (partly)
e : B 1-2, O
f : A 1, P 1, H
g : G 2, U (partly)
h : A 2, P 1-2, B 3.

3

The deity or spirit (including the cow) in the eleven stories has an overall and detailed resemblance with the Rigvedic goddess Uṣas. Uṣas is bountiful (**maghoni**) and she is a housewife (**purandhī**). She is brilliant, white, ruddy and golden-hued. She is unaging (**ajuryā**). In the Group A stories the deity is manifest and out of door, and she is but Uṣas who has come out of her abode or shed (**uraja**) after taking a shower (**urdhveva snāti dṛśaye no asthāt 5.80.5**).

The spirit lying in her cave (Group B stories) is the dark counter-part of Uṣas that is Night (**Nakt**) who is also called the sister of Uṣas. But the two are the same person having two aspects, representing the bright day (**ahar arjunam**) and the black day (**ahah kṛṣṇam**). In the darkness of the cave she is a spirit, as if Uṣas at night covers herself in a dark robe. Her dawning is symbolically described by the Vedic poet as casting off the robe of darkness **apa kṛṣṇām nirṇijam 1.113.14**). In some stories (A 1, P 1-2, B 3) the spirit (or deity) was to be awakened in time. This motif also has a parallel in the Uṣas mythos (**prati stomair abhutsmaḥi 4.52.4**). The sage in the stories B 1 and O appears to represent in the Vedic myth to the Vasiṣṭas who had first awakened Uṣas with their prayers (**prati stomebhir uṣasam vasiṣṭhā gīrbhir viprāsaḥ prathamā abudhran 7.80.1**).

The relation of Uṣas with the cow was very close. She is called the mother of the cow (**gavām mātā**). In the morning she releases the

kine, i.e. the sunbeams, from the pen of darkness (4.37.2). The goddesses themselves—in the Rig-veda Uṣas is often looked upon as a group of sisters—are compared to the released herd of cattle (*gavāṃ na sargā uṣaso jarante* 4.51.8). Uṣas is the mother of the gods and so is Aditi the primeval cow. Uṣas is identified as the mother of the gods and the Face of Aditi (*mātā devānām aditer anīkam* 1.113.19) Uṣas in or out of her pen is Aditi *pastyā* (*Frau Holle* in G 1). There is support from the Rigveda as to the colour of the cows acting as an agent of the deity (or spirit) in the stories. The yellow (P2) corresponds to the raw (*āma*) the balck (H) to the black (*kṛṣṇa*) and the red (A-2) to the red (*rohini*)¹. The slaughter of the cow (as in A2, P2, B3 and possibly in H also) is not without a parallel in a prevedic myth. In a Gatha of Zarathustra ('Ahunvairi') belonging to the oldest stratum of Avestan literature, there is an echo of the story that the primeval cow was oppressed and killed. There is a very faint echo of such a myth in a Rigvedic verse where Aditi appeals to stop her intended slaughter (*mā gām anāgām aditiṃ vadhiṣṭa* 8.101.15).

4

The following comments on the tales individually may perhaps clarify further the interrelation existing between them.

G) The girls are sisters. The down-trodden girl found a pretty cottage by the side of a wood. The old lady was in a small cottage. Tending the apple tree and spinning cotton are indicative of her community as being agricultural. The old lady introduced herself as Mother Holle ("Frau Holle"). "Holle" (NHG dialectal) means 'shed, stable' i.e., the small cottage of which she was the occupant at the moment. ("Holle" is linguistically cognate to Sanskrit *sala*). The girl as she was coming away had a shower of gold, which was probably originally yellow water (representing sunlight) which rendered her hair golden. At a second door—probably in the other cottage—she was given back her spindle and also a suit of golden clothes. The bad sister on her part had a shower of black water.

G2) This story has close affinity with the story from Orissa (O). Here the brother is changed to a golden stag and he acted as an agent of the deity. The story agrees with P1 and P2 as the step-mother was helped by the girl to step into their home permanently.

B 1) The girls are neither sisters nor half-sisters but are co-wives.

¹Uṣas is mentioned as Rohini in the Rigveda (*iyam yā nicī arkinī rūpā rohinyā* Kṛtā 8.101.13).



This may not be a mere local mutation. There is here no mention of a well as in G1. There was a shed and a bull and beyond it another cottage and a sage (*muni*) i.e. a priest near it. The girl was asked by the sage to take only one plunge into the tank nearby. She was asked to take away as a present an ever-full casket of jewels from the cottage. There is no mention of spinning cotton but there was a cotton tree that had asked her to trim it. Veneration to the bull and care for the cotton and the plantain tree indicate the tale as belonging to an agricultural community. The *Tulasi* plant (the holy basil) and the sage indicate local variation. (The community from which the tale was taken was predominantly *Vaishnava*).

B 2) The second Bengali story is a version of the first (B1). But here the girls are half-sisters, and instead of the cotton plant there is cotton wool, and a cow for the bull.

The *Sheora* tree (*Trophis Aspera*) replaces the *Tulasi* (as the popular belief in Bengal was that the bountiful lady of the woods inhabited the *Sheora* plant), and the horse is not an innovation but an important survival. *Uṣas* is connected with the kine as well as with the horse. She is *gomatī* and *aśvātī* (RV 1. 48. 2, 1. 92.15 ; cf. *śvetam nayanti sudṛśikam aśvam* 7.77.3). The old lady, the "Mother of the Moon", was stationed on the terrace of her white mansion, engaged in spinning cotton. (For *Uṣas*' connection with the moon it may be pointed out that she is *candrarathā* and she shines with the brilliance of the moon ; RV 1.48.19) The girl was guided by the wind (—cf. the *Maruts* as the sons of *Aditi*—). Here the girl takes two plunges in the tank. In B1 the girl was married and the casket presented by the sage contained only jewels for her wear. In B2 the girl was unmarried and the casket taken home by her produced her husband.

H.) Here the person in distress is a boy. He and his half-sister used to tend cattle although they belonged to a Brahman family. There is no mention of cotton or any plant. The community nurturing the tale seems to have been pastoral. A black cow from the herd helped the boy. From a Hindu story-teller it was not expected that there would be any reference to cow killing, but in the original of tale the cow must have been killed. Otherwise there is no plausible justification for the bones mentioned towards the end of the tale. There is no old lady nor a *muni*. The deity is represented by a serpent and a bull dwelling deep under and supporting the earth. The serpent may stand for Vedic *Ahi Budhnya* or/and *Varuṇa* and the bull may be the horned bull (*śṛṅgavṛṣa*) mentioned as the son or the grandson of *Indra* in RV 8.17.13, who drunk from a trough

or ewer (*kunḍapāyya*); the thousand horned bull from the depth of the sea may also be compared (RV 7.55.4). The boy became golden-haired, and it was a strand of his hair that procured a wife for him. The finale of the tale is different from the other stories of the pastoral group. The motif of tracing through a strand of hair is distinctly Indian (where ladies did not generally wear shoes) while the Cinderella motif—tracing through a missing shoe—is distinctly Western. This is the simplest and perhaps the oldest of the “pastoral” group of the stories.

A 1.) This the most elaborate of the stories and is told in a consummate manner. The first part, the birth of a serpent son to a king, was possibly a part of a different story. The old lady was the dweller of a rock cave or citadel. The black, red and yellow waters flowing in her cave represent the milk of the black, the red and the yellow cow respectively of the other tales in the pastoral group. The girl herded cattle and sheep and spun wool, and she had lost her bobbin. Her winning a husband does not involve the complexity of the hair, the shoe or any other similar motif.

In the Armenian original the girl is named *Arevhat* ('Sunbeam'), the prince *Ozdanouk* ('Serpent child'). Vide Downing p. 45.

A 2.) This story has a very close affinity with the Himalayan story (H). Here the cow is naturally red. (In Indian tradition a black cow gives the best milk). Before she was killed the cow had introduced her protégés to the old woman dwelling in a small mountainous cave. That is the old woman of whom the red cow was the agent. The only reference to water occurs in connection with the lost slipper.

P 1) As in G 2 and in the following story the girl helped her enemy to be established in their home. The death of the mother caused by the daughter is perhaps a local embellishment. The girl tended cattle and spun cotton. One day the wind blew away the cotton she was handling into a well and she got down to retrieve it. The old lady was a demoness (*Div*). She has two assistants here : the black wind and the white. The girl as she was departing received this blessing from the old lady : a moon on her forehead and a star on her chin and perhaps also a pair of shoes.

P 2.) This story is closely connected with the other Persian story (P1). But here the would be step-mother was not a *mulla* but a tattooer, and the girl was an indirect agent for her mother's death. The dead mother and the yellow cow helped conjointly. Cotton wool was being blown away by the wind, and following it the girl came



to the abode of a male demon (Div). The demon behaved in the same manner as the demoness in P1 and as the old woman in A1. The black cloud and the white cloud here also acted as the gatemen or assistants of the Div. The girl was blessed by a sun on the forehead and a moon on the chin as well as with a pair of golden (?) slippers. But there is a further complication. A child was born to the couple and the girl was killed by a tiger.

The only mention of water occurs when the girl married to the son of the king bathed in a forest pool and was captured by his step-mother and her daughter.

B 3. In spite of some features which are definitely Bengali this story, the latest in age, has little common with B1 and B2 except that in all the three Bengal stories she was very unkindly treated by her step-mother (or co-wife). Its closer connection, however, with P1, P2 and A2 is obvious. The story was obtained from a Muslim lady and so there is cow-killing and *namāz*, which perhaps proclaim the story to be a Bengalicized version of a prototype brought from Iran.

The old lady was met sitting on the roadside at a distance from her house. That the dead cow here was identical with the old lady is also obvious. A specially Bengali motif is the boon obtained by the girl : pearls falling when she wept and gems dropping when she laughed. The motif of the dropping of cowdung in the case of the bad girl is also a peculiarly Bengali motif.

In the first four tales (G1, G2, B1, B2) the deity (a lady or a sage) is not shown as actually dwelling in the cottage (or shed or house or hollow of a tree), and the deity and the cottage-shed-house-hollow have distinct functions. The latter contains the good things and the deity leads the favoured person into it. Here "Frau Holle" of the German tale or **Aditi Pastyā** of the R̥gveda appears to have split into two entities. The house (which, standing for the cow, can be her shed, and for the lady, as her treasury) is shown apart from the abode of the deity. The potency of the shed is the most emphatic in A 2. In the third story from Bengal (B3) too the house and the deity are spaced apart and they are distinct in their function.

In the four Anatolian and Iranian tales (A1, A2, P1, P2) the deity is the resident and master of its dwelling which is a cave in a mountainous region. Here there is apparently no split in the personality or in the function of "Frau Holle" and **Aditi Pastyā**. But Uṣas also had her cave-dwelling—before her appearance after bath and dress

(Of RV 5.45.3 ; 6.65.5). The abode of the deity (Uṣas) and her cows (Aditi) was furnished by nature and it is guarded by the Winds (as in P1 and P2) or by the waters (as in A1, A2). The favoured person here had not occasion to demonstrate her goodness before coming to the deity but had to do tasks set by the spirit resident of the cave, only after her arrival.

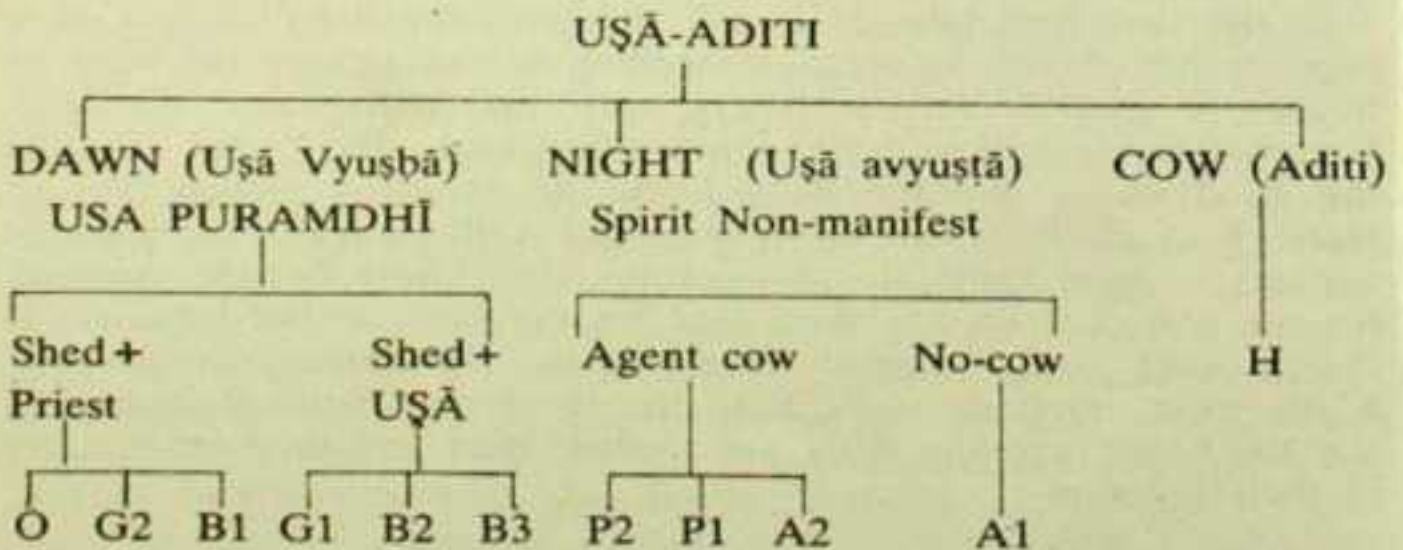
The story from Orissa (O) has in one point a close affinity with G2 : it is the gift of a golden stag which acted as an agent of the deity represented by a sage. It shows other embellishments not found in any other story of the group.

5

There is in RV a faint parallel of the main idea of the stories. There is a hymn (8.91) ascribed to Apālā of the clan of the Atris where the young girl who invoked Indra and offered the god *soma* drink and food prepared by herself. In return she wanted : (i) hair for her father who was bald headed, (ii) beauty (*sūryatvac* 'sunbright skin') for herself, (iii) a loving husband and (iv) fertility.

The story of Apālā is slightly comparable to B1 where there is an easy explanation of the *muni*.

The distribution of the tales according to the nature and function of the deity is shown in the following chart.





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Sur quelques soi-disant archaïsmes dans le vocabulaire et la flexion du tokharien

A.J. Van Windekens

1. Il m'est un grand honneur de pouvoir collaborer au Memorial Volume pour Irach J. S. Taraporewala dont l'inlassable activité a contribué d'une façon décisive au prestige du Département de Philologie Comparée (plus tard de Linguistique) à l'Université de renommée mondiale de Calcutta, Département qui est en même temps le plus ancien dans son genre dans les Universités de l'Inde. Je félicite vivement le Professeur Subhadra Kumar Sen qui a pris la magnifique initiative de commémorer par l'édition du présent Memorial Volume le centenaire de la naissance de la personnalité éminente qu'a donc été Irach J. S. Taraporewala.

2. Donnant suite à l'aimable invitation de mon collègue Subhadra Kumar Sen d'étudier dans cette Gedenkschrift un problème de la langue tokharienne, je me suis proposé de soumettre à un examen critique les idées que K. T. Schmidt 1987, 287 ss., a développés sur quelques termes tokhariens et sur une désinence nominale de cette langue.

3. K. T. Schmidt 1987 s., se penche sur un mot tokharien B qui jusqu'ici était inconnu : il s'agit de **awi**, nom, pl. fém. signifiant "weibliche Schafe" et qu'il a trouvé "In einem unpublizierten Rechenschaftsbericht der Sammlung Pelliot". K. T. Schmidt ne donne aucun autre renseignement sur cette "trouvaille" : était-ce vraiment si difficile, pratiquement impossible donc de fournir quelques précisions, c. a. sur le contexte direct dans lequel se situe B **awi**, sur la présence éventuelle de mots sanskrits assurant le sens du mot tokharien, etc. ? Il est à noter que déjà Thomas 1985, 23, a critiqué à bon droit la méthode qu'emploie K. T. Schmidt pour informer les chercheurs sur des textes inédits : au lieu de publier les textes, il en donne une traduction incomplète (dans le cas qui nous occupe ici même un seul mot !), ce que Thomas qualifie de "Verfahren, in dem man sich um Präzision nicht zu bemühen braucht und Schwierigkeiten leicht umgeht". Je renvoie aussi à Van Windekens 1986 a, 161.

4. Mais supposons donc que K. T. Schmidt ait vraiment réussi à



identifier B *awi* comme "weibliche Schafe". Il prétend "Mit tokh. B *awi* tritt erstmals ein Fortsetzer des idg. Schafwortes (vgl. ai. *ávi*...lat. *ovis*...) im Tocharischen zutage". Qu'il me soit permis de signaler que déjà dans Van Windekens 1978, 349 s. (voir aussi Van Windekens 1985 a, 484 s.). J'ai proposé de voir dans *y-* de tokh. B *yákwa*, pl. "poils>laine de mouton, poils de chèvre" le représentant tokharien B de i.-e. **wi-*, forme apophonique de **owi-* "mouton, brebis". Evidemment K. T. Schmidt a le droit de ne pas admettre cette interprétation, mais il ne peut l'ignorer. Cependant ce n'est pas la première fois qu'il fait preuve d'une pauvreté stupéfiante en matière de bibliographie : cf. p. ex. aussi Van Windekens 1979 a, 174 ss. et voir d'ailleurs ci-dessous passim dans le présent article.

5. Une forme i.-e. **ow(i)-* devait évidemment aboutir à tokh. B **ew(i)-*, avec i.-e. **o*>tokh. B *e*. Il n'est donc pas surprenant de lire chez K. T. Schmidt "Auffällig ist das kurze *a* der ersten Silbe des westtocharischen Wortes". Pour rendre compte du vocalisme radical de B *awi* il part d'un ancien nom. pl. **āwi* accentué sur la deuxième syllabe et supposant, donc, un nom. sg. **āw-* (il renvoie à l'exemple de B nom. pl. *sañi* en face de nom. sg. *sām* "ennemi"). D'après K. T. Schmidt ce nom sg. **āw-* remonterait à i.-e. **ō-wi-* (et le nom pl. représenterait i.-e. **ōwiyes*)¹. Et il se trouve donc forcé de reconnaître qu'en face de toutes les (autres) langues indo-européennes qui offrent **owi-*, le tokharien B est la seule langue indo-européenne à avoir conservé un thème allongé **ōwi*. Qui plus est, l'existence en tokharien B d'un soi-disant représentant d'i.-e. **ōwi-* à côté de **owi-* dans les autres langues indo-européennes témoignerait en faveur de la flexion dite acrostatique admise par Eichner et qui serait caractérisée par le degré allongé dans les cas forts et par le degré normal dans les cas faibles. Tokh. B **āw-*<i.-e. **ōwi-* constituerait donc un archaïsme qu'auraient perdu les autres langues indo-européennes.

6. Mais à regarder de près, il faut quand même se demander si l'hypothèse d'un tokh. B **āw-*<i.-e. **ōwi-* est la seule qui puisse rendre compte de B nom. pl. *awi*. K. T. Schmidt y voit donc un ancien **āwi* avec accent sur la deuxième syllabe, mais rien n'empêche de le considérer comme *awi* tel quel accentué sur la première syllabe : on n'a qu'à renvoyer ici au type de B nom. pl. *āntsi* en face de nom. sg. *āntse* "épaule" (=gr. *ōmos*), B nom. pl. *ñā-kti* en face de nom. sg. *ñakte* "dieu", B nom. pl. *šali* en face de nom. sg. *šale* "montagne", B nom. pl. *yakwi* en face de nom. sg. *yakwe* "cheval", etc. (cf. Van Windekens 1979 b, 210 ss.). Autrement dit le nom. pl *awi* a pu être construit sur un nom. sg. **aw* (le nom. pl. de **aw* a pu être influencé par le nom. pl. *yakwi* de B *yakwe* "cheval",



nom d'un autre animal domestique). Et ce nom sg. B **aw* avec voyelle *a* en face d'i.-e. **o(wi)-* s'expliquerait excellemment comme un emprunt au dialecte A où i.-e. **o* devient régulièrement *a*, donc avec i.-e **owi->tokh*. A **aw(i)-*. Pour un autre exemple d'un emprunt B<A d'un nom d'animal, cf. aussi B *laks* "poisson"<A **laks*<i.-e. **loksa-s*, également donc avec i.-e. **o>A a* (Van Windekens 1976, 254 s.; on rejettera ce que propose Adams 1985, 72 ss.)

7. Seulement on ne peut pas exclure la possibilité d'un ancien **āwi* accentué sur la deuxième syllabe et témoignant donc en faveur d'un ancien nom. sg. **āw*. Mais pour ce **āw* ne pourrait-on pas songer également à un emprunt à skr. *āvi-*, dont *a* devait donner tokh. *ā* ? Sur le passage skr. *a>tokh. ā*, voir surtout Isebaert 1980, 15 ss.

8. De tout ce qui précède il faut conclure que la forme B nom. pl. *awi* "weibliche Schafe" (à supposer que dans le texte inédit elle ait été interprétée correctement par K. T. Schmidt) n'oblige pas du tout à admettre i.-e. **ōwi-* à côté de **owi-*. Il vaut donc mieux ne pas parler dans ce cas d'un archaïsme qui, de plus, constituerait une (nouvelle) preuve en faveur de la flexion acrostatique.

9. Pour arriver à une explication de tokh. B *ālme* "puits" (perl. sg. *āmesa*, loc. sg. *ālmene*), traduction de skr. *udapāna-* "Brunnern", K. T. Schmidt 1987, 290 ss., le juge absolument superflu d'examiner si ce terme n'a pas déjà été l'objet de quelque étude : de toute façon les interprétations de Van Windekens 1977, 144 (parenté avec tokh. A *lyām*, B *lyam* "lac"<i.-e. **lem-* "briser, rompre", avec e. a. lit. *lomā* "fosse, trou, creux" : *ālme*<préfixe intensif *ā-* et i.-e. **lmo-*) et de Isebaert 1980, 153, note 1 (parenté avec lat. *alvus* "ventre, cavité intestinale, ruche" et hitt. *hallu(i)-* "profond") sont passées candidement sous silence. Seulement ce mépris de K. T. Schmidt pour la bibliographie et les recherches d'autrui n'étonnera plus personne : cf. aussi passim dans la présente contribution.

10. Pour lui tokh. B *ālme* se rattache d'une part à skr. véd. *ārma-*, d'autre part à tokh. B *yolme* "pièce d'eau, étang". Quant à skr. véd. *ārma-*, il s'agit là d'un terme dont K. T. Schmidt reconnaît lui-même que son sens précis est très obscur (voir les diverses tentatives citées par K. T. Schmidt qui, curieusement, ne fait aucune mention de Mayrhofer 1956 ss., 52 : ici le mot en question (pl.) reçoit le sens de "Trümmer, Ruinen", ce qui correspond à la vue de la plupart des chercheurs). Pour K. T. Schmidt skr. véd. *ārma-* est un "Wasserwort" qui a le sens de "Brunnern". Seulement son examen de *ārma-*, dans deux passages est manifestement si influencé

par le sens de tokh. B *âlme* (et aussi par celui de tokh. B *yolme*) dont il veut rapprocher *ârma-*, que l'on ne peut attacher aucune valeur à un skr. véd *arma-* signifiant "Brunner".

De plus la "méthode" suivie par K. T. Schmidt dans ce cas rappelle remarquablement celle qu'il a développée autour du terme tokh. B *kenmer* dont le sens est inconnu, mais auquel il a attribué simplement celui de hitt. **kammar-*, louv. **katmar-* "Exkrement, Kot" dont il a rapproché le terme tokharien étymologiquement : cf. Van Windekens 1979, 178.

11. K. T. Schmidt est d'avis que tokh. B *âlme* (il faut donc laisser de côté skr. véd. *ârma-*) est à comparer à des hydronymes tels que *Almus* (Moesia Inferior), *Yealm* (Angleterre), *Âlme* (Lituanie), etc qui d'après Krahe remontent à i.-e. **almo-*, **almā-*. D'autre part tokh. B *âlme* ne pourrait être séparé de tokh. B *yolme* : une fois de plus on constate ici que K. T. Schmidt ne prête pas d'attention au travail de ses co-chercheurs (cf. passim dans la présente contribution), puisque pour B *yolme* il ne cite ni Van Windekens 1976, 603 (<préfixe intensif *y-* et *-olme*, composé se superposant à gr. *énaulos* "lit d'un torrent, ravin"), ni Hilmarsson 1984, 18 s., note 2 (<i.-e. **emiya-* ou **elmō(n)-*, avec e. a. lit. *Elmė*, hydronyme).

12. Je m'abstiens ici d'une discussion sur ces rapprochements pour B *âlme* et B *yolme*, mais une prise de position sur les reconstructions indo-européennes que propose K. T. Schmidt pour ces termes tokhariens me paraît nécessaire. Tokh. B *âlme* remonterait à i.-e. **almo-* et tokh. B *yolme* continuerait i.-e. **ēlmo-*. Or d'après K. T. Schmidt la différence vocalique **a-/*ē-* à l'initiale de ces formes indo-européennes, d'où tokh. B *ā-* et tokh. B **ē* (serait devenu *o* (?), après le développement d'un *y-* secondaire) serait un exemple tokharien (B) de la "loi" de Eichner stipulant qu'en hittite **ē* (accentué) ne devient pas **a* au voisinage de la laryngale **h₂*.

13. Je dois dire que j'ai mes doutes sur cette "loi" de Eichner : les exemples hittites sur lesquels il a construit cette "loi" sont loin d'être convaincants, d'autant plus que ces mots, qui sont d'ailleurs peu nombreux, admettent pratiquement tous d'autres interprétations. Je songe ici e. a. à hitt. *ḫekur* "pointe de rocher, sommet de montagne" que Eichner a voulu expliquer à partir d'i.-e. **h₂ék-wr* du soi-disant **h₂ék-* "être pointu" (en face de gr. *ákros ókris*, etc.), mais qui correspond en réalité à gr. *áipos* "escarpement, hauteur, montagne", *aipús* "haut et escarpé" : cf. Van Windekens 1985 b, 94 ss. et 1986 b, 6 s. et 253. Je renvoie de plus à Van Windekens 1988.

14. Si parenté il ya a entre tokh. B *âlme* et tokh. B *yolme*, parenté qui à mon avis ne s'impose pas du tout, et si tokh. B *yolme* continue i.-e. **ēlmo-* (ce que je crois pas), tokh. *ā-* < **a-* de B *âlme* s'expliquerait facilement comme réduction (schwa primum) d'i.-e. **ē* (qui ne résulterait pas d'un allongement secondaire). On se trouverait donc devant le même rapport apophonique que dans le cas de hitt. *aku-* en face de *eku-* "boire", où e-remonte en tout cas à i.-e. **ē* (primaire) et où le hittite n'offre donc pas de *h-* < laryngale à l'initiale.

Au lieu de voir dans tokh. B (*âlme* :) *yolme* un "archaïsme", comme le propose K. T. Schmidt, on n'a qu'à appliquer des règles solidement établies, connues déjà depuis longtemps et qui n'ont rien de commun avec les exagérations laryngalistes.

15. K. T. Schmidt 1987, 289 s., croit avoir découvert un autre "archaïsme" dans tokh. B *pānto* (>A *pānto*) "assistance, aide, compagnon" qui expliquerait la finale de skr. *pānthāḥ*, av. *pantā* "Weg, Pfad", formes indo-iraniennes se superposant étymologiquement à tokh. B *pānto*, du moins de l'avis de K. T. Schmidt. Ici encore on constate que ce monsieur se moque ouvertement des idées que d'autres linguistes pourraient avoir e. a. sur la grammaire historique et comparée du tokharien, car pour tokh. B *pānto* il semble ignorer aussi bien l'explication de Van Windekens 1976, 352 (parenté avec skr. *bāndhu-* "(e.a.) allié, associé, compagnon", lit. *beṇḍras* "compagnon", etc.) que celle de Čop 1975, 7 s. (<i.-e. **pō(i)-* "Vieh weiden, hüten"), explications qu'il ne se donne même pas la peine de mentionner (pour d'autres exemples de cette attitude hautaine et a-scientifique, voir passim dans la présente contribution).

16. Dans skr. *pānthāḥ*, av. *pantā* quelques linguistes ont vu un thème du type de lat. *vatēs* (cf. e. a. Mayrhofer 1957 ss., 210 s.) : K. T. Schmidt prétend qu'à la lumière de tokh. B *pānto* il faut poser une finale i.-e. **-ōs*. Seulement la question fondamentale dans ce cas c'est celle de la soi-disant parenté de tokh. B *pānto* avec les formes indo-iraniennes. A mon avis le sens du terme tokharien exclut toute parenté. En effet tokh. B *pānto* ne signifie que "Beistand" (équivalent de skr. *sāhāyya-* "aide, secours") et A *pānto* qui provient du dialecte B a le même sens (K. T. Schmidt ne veut pas tenir compte de A *pānto* : à cause de l'identité de sens qui est peut-être embarrassante pour lui ?). Or pour concilier sémantiquement skr. *pānthāḥ* (=av. *pantā*) qui aurait surtout le sens de "der richtige Weg, der zum schwer erreichbaren Ziel führt", et tokh. (B) *pānto*, K. T. Schmidt a imaginé pour le terme tokharien le sens de "Führer", c.-à-d. "der richtige Weg, etc." employé comme métaphore. Mais il est évident qu'il y a une différence foncière entre les notions de

"aider, secourir" et de "conduire".

17. Tout chercheur qui s'occupe de la grammaire historique et comparée d'une langue doit s'appuyer avant tout sur les données philologiques qu'apporte cette langue. Or dans le cas de tokh. B **pānto** K. T. Schmidt part uniquement de la forme du nom. sg. et ne semble pas connaître l'acc. sg. **pāntai**, le nom. pl. **pantañ** et le perl. pl. **pantaintsa**, formes qui se trouvent pourtant réunies chez Van Windekens 1976, 352 (voir d'ailleurs aussi Van Windekens 1979 b, 29). Il est évident que l'on ne peut juger de la finale **-o** du nom. sg. **pānto** sans tenir compte de **-ai** de l'acc. sg., de **-añ** du nom. pl. et de **-ai(ntsa)** du perl. pl. qui, lui, prouve un acc. pl. en **-aim**.

18. Qui plus est, ce paradigme flexionnel n'est pas du tout isolé, au contraire : cf. aussi B nom. sg. **lyauto** "ouverture" avec acc. sg. **lyautai**; B nom. sg. **lesto** "nid, refuge" avec acc. sg. **lestai**; B nom. sg. **pātro** "Almosenschale" avec acc. sg. **pātrai** et acc. pl. **patraim**; B nom. sg. **swāñco** "rayon" avec acc. sg. **swañcai**, gén. sg. **swañcaintse** et nom. pl. **swañcaiñ**; B nom. sg. **okso** "boeuf" avec acc. sg. **oksai** et acc. pl. **oksaim**. On se trouve ici devant la catégorie de noms tokhariens B en **-o**, **-ai(-)** qui à la suite d'une interpénétration flexionnelle analogique représentent à la fois e. a. les thèmes indo-européens en ***-oi-** (type de gr. *peithō* : tokh. B nom. sg. en **-o** < i.-e. ***-ō(i)**, acc. sg. **-ai** < i.-e. ***-oym**) et les thèmes indo-européens en ***-ō(n)** (voir ici B nom. pl. **pantañ**). Je renvoie à Van Windekens 1979 b, 26 ss.

Une seule conclusion s'impose donc ici : la finale i.-e. ***-ōs** de tokh. B **pānto** n'existe que dans l'imagination (peu scientifique) de K. T. Schmidt. C'est un "archaïsme" tokharien de plus qui tombe.

19. Chez K. T. Schmidt 1987, 295 s., on lit e. a. "Altindisch und Osttocharisch sichern... die Existenz eines grundsprachlichen Wurzelnomens ***twek*-**", dont le sens serait celui de "Decke". Du côté sanskrit il s'agirait de **tvāc-** "peau" et du côté tokharien A ce serait **ptuk(k)** "obscurité, ténèbres, etc." J'avoue que j'ai lu plusieurs fois l'exposé de K. T. Schmidt sur ces deux termes, parce qu'il me semblait inconcevable qu'une personne qui s'adonne à la science se trouve en état de proposer des énormités impardonnables, soit par ignorance (voulue ?), soit par négligence ou encore par simple manque d'information. En effet avant de rapprocher tokh. A **ptuk(k)** de skr. **tvāc-** et avant d'expliquer ces mots à partir d'i.-e. ***tweq*-** (pour cette reconstruction il renvoie à la p. 300, note 70, à un article dont l'auteur n'est pas mentionné), K. T. Schmidt cite le dictionnaire sanskrit bien connu de Mayrhofer. Or Mayrhofer 1956 ss., 537 s.,

rapproche skr. *tvác-* de gr. *sákos* "bouclier de cuir", *phere-ssakēs* "qui porte un bouclier" (pour le thème sigmatique de la forme grecque, cf. skr. *hiraṇya-tvacas-* "avec une peau, un pelage d'or"), une étymologie à bon droit dite "classique" et qui n'a été contestée par aucun comparatiste. On se trouve donc ici devant la triste confirmation de ce que j'ai déjà mis en évidence dans Van Windekens 1979 a, 174 s. et aussi passim dans la présente contribution : K. T. Schmidt n'est pas au courant de la matière qu'il prétend étudier.

20. Or skr. *tvác-*, *-tvacas-*, gr. *sákos* ne peuvent s'expliquer qu'à la lumière d'i.-e. **twaq-* : la reconstruction **tweq-* de K. T. Schmidt avec une labiovélaire et avec vocalisme *e* est donc foncièrement erronée. Pour ce qui est de l'interprétation de tokh. A *ptuk(k)* < **tpuk* (métathèse) apparenté à tokh. A *tpuk-* "être caché, (caus.) cacher", K. T. Schmidt émet l'avis que le groupe initial *tp-* constitue clairement ("einleuchtend") une "dissimilatorische Umgestaltung von **tw-*" (et la labiovélaire finale) : seulement il ne tient pas compte ici de B *tuk-*, *cauk-* qui répond à A *tpuk-* et qui n'offre pas *-p-*, ce qui prouve que dans A *tpuk-* le *-p-* provient d'une insertion secondaire qui ne caractérise que le dialecte A. On trouve d'autres exemples de ce phénomène chez Van Windekens 1976, 125, mais, comme d'habitude, K. T. Schmidt ne s'en occupe pas.

Et je voudrais aussi l'engager à examiner de plus près l'interprétation que j'ai donnée de A *tpuk-*, B *tuk-*, etc. (Van Windekens 1976, 509 s.), au lieu de la rejeter purement et simplement au profit d'une autre dont nous connaissons maintenant la qualité exceptionnelle....

21. Dans un texte bilingue sanskrit-tokharien A. K. T. Schmidt 1987, 294 s., prétend avoir découvert un terme *tursko* "Zugtier, Zugrind", à analyser en *tur(s)-* qui correspondrait à skr. *dhúr-* "Anschrirwerk, Gestänge" (cf. ici Mayrhofer 1957 ss., 111) et à hitt. *turiya-* "anschirren", et en *-ko* qui se superposerait à tokh. A *ko* "vache". La forme *turs-* serait celle d'un gén. sg. en **-es*. Mais K. T. Schmidt lui-même trouve la "syntaktische Geltung" de ce génitif "Auffällig" et il ajoute "sie scheint sich keiner der bekannten Kategorien dieses Kasus zwanglos zuordnen zu lassen". Cette explication est donc au moins forcée.

22. C'est pourquoi je propose ici une autre solution qui ne souffre pas de cette difficulté. A mon avis tokh. A *tursko* (à supposer que ce mot ait le sens que lui attribue K. T. Schmidt) doit être séparé en *tur-sko* : pour *tur-* on maintiendra l'explication de K. T. Schmidt (cependant je me demande si *tur-* n'est pas simplement un emprunt à skr. *dhúr-*), mais *-(s)ko* n'aurait rien de commun avec tokh. A

ko "vache". Pour **-sko** je songe à une origine i. -e. ***sq-ow-** et une parenté avec les mots celtiques bret. **hesk** "trocken, unfruchtbar", **hesken** aussi "trocken, unfruchtbar" et dit d'une vache sans veau et sans lait, **heska** "tarir", corn. **beuch heskyz** "a dry cow", etc., mots qui sont apparentés à m. irl. **sese** "trocken, unfruchtbar" = av. **hišku-** "trocken", formes à redoublement ***si-** et à suffixe ***-u-** (voir ma reconstruction ***sq-ow-**, sans redoublement) : pour ces mots, cf. Pokorny 1959, 894 s.

Le sens premier de tokh. A **-sko** < i. -e. ***sq-ow-** aurait donc été celui de "(vache) qui ne donne plus de lait" et qui se trouve donc employée pour trainer le chariot : de là le composé avec **tur-**.

23. D'après K. T. Schmidt 1987, 288 s., un texte tokharien B non publié de la collection berlinoise offrirait la forme **pacere** "Die Eltern" qui serait un duel de B **pācer** "père". Jusqu'ici un duel tokh. B en -e n'était pas connu et d'après K. T. Schmidt la forme **pacere** représenterait "eine sowohl semasiologisch als auch morphologisch hochaltertümliche Bildung" qui ne trouverait son équivalent que dans skr. véd. **pitarā**. Cela signifierait que pour tokh. B **-e** et skr. **-ā** il faudrait partir d'une désinence i. -e. ***-ē**. K. T. Schmidt fait aussi état d'une hypothèse de Normier selon laquelle tokh. B **twere** "porte" serait aussi un (ancien) duel d'un thème en ***-r** : il faudrait poser dans ce cas i. -e. ***dhworē** "les deux battants de la porte" et cette forme indo-européenne aurait aussi survécu dans skr. véd. **dvārā** et dans lat. **forē-s**. Dans la suite la forme tokh. B **twere** aurait coïncidé avec les anciens mots thématiques en ***-o-** (nom. sg. ***-os**, ***-om**).

24. Il y a lieu d'examiner de près ce nouvel "archaïsme" de K. T. Schmidt. Il y a tout d'abord la comparaison de skr. véd. **dvārā** (et aussi donc de tokh. B **twere**) avec lat. **forē-s** : il est évident que la finale **-ēs** de lat. **forēs** ne peut être analysées en **-ē-s**, puisque tout comparatiste sérieux doit savoir que cette désinence est issue telle quelle d'i. -e. ***-ey-es** et correspond à gr. **-eis** (cf. **póleis**) et à skr. **-ayah** (cf. **matayah**), ce qui veut dire qu'il s'agit de la finale des thèmes indo-européens en ***-i-**. D'ailleurs l'hypothèse elle-même d'un ancien duel tokh. B **twere** est assez gratuite, puisque cette forme s'explique excellemment à partir d'i. -e. ***dhworo-**, thématique (cf. Van Windekens 1976, 520).

Il faut noter ensuite que rien n'oblige d'assigner une origine commune à tokh. B **-e** (**pacere**) et à skr. **-ā** (**pitarā**), cette dernière désinence ayant déjà reçu dans le passé une interprétation plausible à partir d'i. -e. **-ō** des mots thématiques (transfert analogique bien compréhensible).

Enfin une fois de plus il faut attirer l'attention sur l'ignorance (apparemment voulue ?) de K. T. Schmidt dans ce cas des matériaux et de la bibliographie disponibles (voir d'autres exemples de cette carence dans la présente contribution). En effet K. T. Schmidt ne semble pas connaître l'existence en tokharien B d'un paralis en *-e* (= A *nihil*) dont il y a plusieurs exemples tels que B *āmtsne* < *āntse* "épaule", B *šarne* < *šar* "main", B *ešne* < *ek* "oeil", B *šamāškane* < *šamaške* "jeune garçon", etc., où la partie nasale provient d'anciens thèmes en **-n-* (Van Windekens 1979 b, 240 ss.). Or nous savons qu'en tokharien en face du duel proprement dit qui désigne une dualité occasionnelle, le paralis constitue une spécialisation du duel qui, lui, porte sur une "natürliche Paarverbindung, vor allem bei Namen paariger Körperteile" (Van Windekens 1979 b, 235, avec renvoi à Krause). On verra donc plutôt dans B *pacere* une trace précieuse de la désinence de ce duel spécial : dans *pacere* il ya a la désinence *-e* pure, c.-à-d. pas ajoutée aux thèmes en **-n-* comme p. ex. dans B *šamāškane* "les deux jeunes garçons".

Cette désinence B *-e* a été rapprochée de la finale *-o* dans gr. *dū-o*, lat. *du-o* (Van Windekens 1979 b, 243), mais rien d'étonnant donc que K. T. Schmidt ne se donne même pas la peine de tenir compte de cette interprétation, ce à la différence de Shields 1982, 30 s. (article évidemment inconnu à K. T. Schmidt).

25. De tout ce qui précède il est devenu clair, je pense, que les "archaïsmes" lexicaux et flexionnels dont K. T. Schmidt 1987 ss., a voulu prouver l'existence en tokharien, se sont écroulés comme des châteaux de cartes.

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¹Pour les reconstructions indo-européennes des formes tokhariennes je ne me sers pas des (symboles des) laryngales qui semblent si chères à K. T. Schmidt, parce qu'à mon avis il est absurde de vouloir appliquer la théorie (ou les théories) des laryngales à la langue médiévale qu'est le tokharien : cf. Van Windekens 1976, IV et Anreiter 1984, 17 s., note 6.



Armenian Arbun(k^c) “Vigour, Maturity”

J.J.S. Weitenburg

1. In Classical Armenian texts, **arbun(k^c)** is used in the meaning “vigour, maturity”. The word is used only in the sense of “maturity of age”, denoting ability to marry or carry arms. Thus Movs. Xor. 2,80 ... **y-arbuns hasaki haseal mankann p'esayac'uc'ane ... omn ayr ...i dustr iwr** “the child having reached vigour of age (maturity), ... a certain man ... married him to his daughter”. Likewise : **oc' ankatar hasakk' ayl amenek'ean y-arbuns tioc' i čah gol paterazmakan gorcoy** “no imperfect statures, but all in the vigour of their years, to be suited for military work” (NHB)*.

2. The word **arbunk^c** occurs nearly exclusively in the plural form; when used in the singular it is never inflected. E.g. **snar orpēs manuk minč'ew y-arbun hasaki** “you were brought up as a child until maturity of age” (NHB). The Venice Dictionary defines the word as both a substantive and an adjective. It seems, however, that in Classical Armenian, only substantival value can be acknowledged after Ačaryans discussion (in HAB) of the one reputedly adjectival reference.

In Modern Armenian the word (in the form **arbunk^c**) means “sexual maturity”. Also, there exist two adjectives **arbun** meaning “having reached maturity (of age)” and “making drunk”, respectively. In the latter sense, the word is clearly a recent (i.e. non-classical) derivation from the productive root **arb—** (**arbenal** “to drink”, etc.).

In Classical Armenian, the word is inflected as an **n-stem** : Nom. pl. **arbun-k^c**, Acc.-Loc. pl. **arbun-s**, Gen.-Dat.-Abl. pl. **arbun-c^c**, Instr. pl. **arbambk^c**. The form **arbunc^c** (instead of an expected ***arbanc^c**) can be compared with the inflexion of the adjective **canr** “heavy”—**canunk^c**—**canunc^c**, or that of **erkok'ean**—**erkoc'unc^c** “both”.

3. The word **arbunk^c** has been etymologized with Goth. **abrs** “strong” (Dzaukjan 1982 : 74) as ***abhro'**. This proposal is more likely than any of its predecessors (among which Skt. **arbha**—“small”, German **Erbe** “heir”; cf. HAB). Although the PIE connections of Goth. **abrs**



are not very reliable, and although **abrs** requires PIE ***H₂ebh-ro-** next to Armenian ***H₂bh-ro-**, Jahukyan's proposal to connect these two words cannot easily be rejected on formal or semantic grounds.

Nevertheless, it does not follow that this proposal is correct. One might be tempted to connect Arm. **arbunk** "vigour" with Skt. **bhūrṇi-** "excited, wild, angry, eager" on the basis of a root ***bherH-** (cf. Pokorny's 2. **bher-** "aufwallen"); or with Pokorny's ***bhereu-** as in Lat. *ferveō* "to ferment". How can one decide? Obviously, one cannot without adducing more or new materials.

In the following an attempt will be made to limit the field of possible connections outside Armenian by adducing inner Armenian materials. It is proposed that **arbunk** "vigour" should be connected with **buṛn** "violent".

4. The NHB mentions two entries **buṛn**, the one meaning "fist" and the second "violence, force; tyrant, strong, violent". Both meanings occur from the Bible onwards. The words (in all meanings mentioned here) inflect as an **n-stem**: Gen.—Dat.—Loc. sg. **bṛin** or **bṛan**, Nom.Pl. **bṛunk**, Gen.—Dat.—Abl. pl. **bṛanc** etc. The adverbs (i) **bṛni** and **bṛniw** (Eusebius) "violently" indicate also a vocalic (i-) inflexion. The oblique cases show a, not unexceptional, secondary expansion of **ṛ** as e.g. in **beṛn**, **beṛin** "burden" as against more regular **leaṛn**, **lerin** "mountain".

Though HAB is not able to propose an etymology, it treats both entries as a single word, giving the meaning "fist" the etymological priority. This view can be supported by pointing to a metaphorical expression like **z-bṛamb acel** "to subjugate" lit. "to lead by the fist". Jahukyan (1987: 160), however, separates both entries as historically unrelated and (leaving aside **buṛn** "fist") connects the second entry as an original adjective **buṛn** "violent" (a formation with a suffix **-no-**; Jahukyan 1987: 234) with Skt. **bhūrṇi-**, the word mentioned above. It is well known that Armenian **n-stems** may be relatively young formations, partly originating from vocalic suffixes containing an **-n-**; thus, on the formal side Jahukyan's proposal is acceptable.

I propose to consider **buṛn** and **arbunk** as the *membra disiecta* of one original paradigm; the attested words are built on the original singular and plural forms, respectively. This proposal is based on the assumption that the initial sequence of the root of this word is ablauting ***bher/bhr-**. The original paradigm split as a result of the development of IE ***bhr->(a)rb** (as in ***bhrēw>*arb>albiwr**). In view of the relatively high age of this split and given the fact that

both **buġn** and **arbunk'** are **n**-stems, it is likely that the **n**-stem both in **buġn** and in **arbunk'** is old. In that case, the adverbial forms mentioned above are recent thematizations.

If **arbunk'** is an original plural, the singular form **arbun** must be secondarily abstracted from it. Likewise, the plural forms of **buġn** given above (**brunk'** etc.) are secondary. The situation is comparable to a pair like plural **durk'** (Gen. pl. **drac'**, showing preservation of the old vocalic stem) next to **drunk'** (Gen. pl. **dranc'**, a recent **-n**-stem formation) from **duġn** "door".

From the semantic point of view, the fact that **arbunk'** has an abstract meaning is in line with the proposal that it continues an original plural form: in Armenian, substantivized adjectives that have an abstract meaning tend to be plurals. It is difficult to decide the semantic issue raised by Jahukyan. I am inclined to accept his view, however admittedly, there is no compelling argument against the assumption that **arbunk'** "vigour" and **buġn** "violent" show a specialized semantic development of **buġn** "fist". On the other hand, the archaic plural ending **-unc'** (in **arbunc'**) seems to occur with adjectives only. Therefore, I shall base myself in the following on the hypothesis that **arbunk'** is a substantivized adjective, derived from **buġn** in the sense "violent, strong", leaving the word for "fist" aside.

5. If this proposal is acceptable, it immediately follows that any etymological connection of **arbunk'** and Goth. *arbs* "strong" is excluded. The connection with ***bherH-** in Skr. *bhūrṇi-* then remains a possibility. It is conceivable that we may reconstruct a Proto-Armenian paradigm ***bhōrH-n-** (sg.): ***bhrH-on-** (pl.) to account for the the words discussed here.

An explanation of the vocalism **-u-** in **buġn** is not easy. It seems to me that, in this respect, **buġn** can be compared with a number of similar words:

Thus, in the word **klanem** "to swallow" the Armenian root is **kul**. The traditional connection with the root ***g^oel-** "to swallow" (Pokorny 365), or rather ***g^oelh₁-** (Gk. *déleai*) is most probably correct. Explanations of the vocalism of the Armenian stem have not been successful (cf. Klingenschmitt 1982: 211-212).

Similarly, in words like **xuġn** "disorderly" next to **xarġn**, **alġ-a-m-ulġ** "dark", **ker-a-kur** "food" we find an unexplained **-u-**. In these words, we partly have to do with a relatively productive type of iterative formations, but we do not understand the origin of this

pattern (cf. Klingenschmitt 1982 : 211-2 with an unsatisfactory solution). The only form in this group that we can confidently etymologize is **kerakur** from the root ***g^werH₃**.

With respect to root vocalism, a case like **xurn** next to **xarn** is directly comparable with **burn** next to **arbunk^{*}**. Therefore, it is not probable that the forms with **-u-** vocalism are zero degree formations. This leaves us with two options : these words show either an inherited long **ō** (or are derived from stems showing long **ō**), or an inherited short **-o-** that for some reason developed into Armenian **-u-**.

I find no proof for the latter possibility. Of course, given the fact we have to do with roots ending in **-RH**, one is tempted to assume a development **-oRH-** > Arm. **uR**. Such a development is improbable, however, in view of the behaviour of similar groups containing inherited **-e-** : in an inherited group **-eRH-** the **-e-** is subject to no special developments. Cf. **eker** "he ate" from ***eg^werH₃t**.

Therefore, it seems that **-u-** in Arm. **burn** etc. reflects an inherited long **-ō-**. Inasmuch as these words are derived from verbal roots, they are derived from verbal stems containing an inherited long vowel.

Notes

* The textual material on **arbunk^{*}** in this paper is exclusively taken from NHB and HAB. I have not been able to consult *Norayr Biwzandac'i, Grigor Magistrosi "Gamagtakan" rlrin meknur'wna i nmin isk i Magistrose*, Banasēr, 1900 (Vol. 2, No. 2, p. 119-140, esp. p. 130).

1 The inclusion of Arm. **arbek** "very strong" in this etymology (thus also, hesitatingly, Jahukyan 1987 : 111) cannot be accepted, as this word (found only in the *Bargirk Hayoc'*) most probably is the outcome of a manuscript corruption (Amalyan 1975 : 351).

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The ending Tocharian B **-ar** (**-är**) of the active preterit

Werner Winter

1. Wolfgang Krause (1952: 201) compared the ending of the third person plural of the active preterit in B **-ar**, A **-är** with an ending found in Hitt. **e-te-ir** (= **eter**), to be sure in somewhat reluctant terms; the statement was repeated in Krause—Thomas (1960: 260): 'In Gruppe III könnte die wtoch. Endung **-re** der gleichen Endung in lat. **vēnere** usw. entsprechen, die kürzere Endung **-r** der in heth. **eter** "sie assen"'

2. The following occurrences of B **-ar** (**-är**) can be listed; provenance is indicated in parentheses:

- aiparne** (Š) 'they covered him'
- aunarñ** (H) 'they hit me'
- krempār** (PK) 'they hindered'
- lyautar** (MQ) 'they removed'
- nemarnes** (S) 'they bent to him'
- pletkarc** (FS) 'they came forward to thee'
- prekar** (Š) 'they asked'
- rotkārne** (Š) 'they removed for him'
- serparme** (S) 'they pointed out to them'
- tsekār** (Brit. Mus.) 'they burned'
- wsārñi** (Brit. Mus.) 'they gave me'
- yopar** (Š, S, H) 'they entered'

3. A form such as B **prekar** 'they asked' from Šorčuq can safely be analyzed as /prekór/. /e/ is, in view of a Sängim form **nemarnes** 'they bent to him' (with no palatalization of the onset, to be equated with PIE ***o**, the old vocalism of the active perfect singular, which was generalized throughout the entire active preterit of most Tocharian B forms of Krause's class III. As to B **-ar** (**-är**), it is noteworthy that no palatalization of a preceding consonant is found—which means that B **-a-** (**-ä-**) cannot be derived from PIE ***e**.

4. The place of the accent on the—phonetically—last syllable is clearly indicated in the unextended Central and Eastern forms **prekar**



and *yopar*. It seems, therefore, warranted to ascribe B -a- in forms extended by suffixed pronouns not to stress attraction: items like B *kalštärme* 'he threatens them' of B *šerpsame* 'he pointed out to them' clearly show that suffixed pronouns do not attract an accent toward them (while they indeed permit restoration of a retracted stress in forms such as B *ašanme* 'he leads them': B *āšām* 'he leads' or B *tsānkāne* 'it arose in him': B *tsaṅka* 'it rose,'). All third person plural forms of the active preterit in Krause's class III then clearly show the presence of a stressed /ə/ in the last syllable.

5. It is an all-pervasive fact of stress distribution in Tocharian B that an accent on a phonetically final syllable of polysyllabic words is found only when this syllable is a penultima morphophonemically; an underlying stress on the morphophonemically final syllable is retracted—witness B *yakwe* 'horse': genitive *yākwentse* (where B *yāmor* 'action': *yāmorntse* serves to indicate that genitival -ntse: does not attract stress toward itself), B *camel* 'birth': genitive *cmelntse*, B *eake* 'river': genitive *ckentse*, B *pāke* 'part': nominative-accusative plural *pakenta* (as against B *yāmor* 'action': *yāmornta*). Except for this constraint, the position of stress in polysyllabic forms is in principle free; note, e.g., the following forms of B *kārpa*- 'descend': B *karpām* (phonetic ultima), *kārpa* (penult), *kārpāššim* (antepenult), of B *kātkā*- 'go beyond': B *kātkau* (phonetic ultima) *šātkāwa* (penult), *katkatsi* (antepenult), *šatkāššenca* (preantepenult), or of B *kārsā*- 'know': B *kārsoš* (phonetic ultima), *kārsauca* (penult), *kārsaune* (antepenult), *šarsāskemne* (preantepenult). The accent distribution incurred in B is quite independent of patterns reconstructable for Proto-Indo-European (cf., e.g., B *yakwe* 'horse', B *šak* 'ten', B *ākār* 'tear', all with underlying stress on the morphophonemic ultima, as contrasted with Skt. *áśvaḥ*, *dāśa*, *áśru*); it is made use of in signaling grammatical-lexical properties such as transitivity or locomotionality of verb classes, and the overriding characteristic of causative paradigms in B is stem-initial stress. For details see Winter (1980).⁷

6. Tocharian B /ər/ then has to be derived from an underlying {ərX}, where X stands for a vowel or a sequence of vowel plus consonant. {ə} cannot, as has been pointed in § 3, reflect PIE *e; PIE *i and *u, though possible sources of B /ə/, are without outside support. It is therefore necessary to derive B {ər} from PIE *r̥. The morphophoneme labeled {X} for convenience can have several potential sources: PIE *e, for which Lat. -*e in -ēre could be cited as a parallel; PIE *i and *u, both without a match; and the e-coloring laryngeal—in the latter case, {ərX} would reflect PIE *r̥E (or, in Brugmannian terms, *r̥) and thus be alignable with Skt. -ur and its Iranian counterparts.



As has been shown elsewhere (Winter 1965), laryngeals following resonants survived as vowels in Common Tocharian; while the *a*-coloring laryngeal is attested as /a/ in Tocharian B (cf., e.g. B *pācer* 'father' : Skt. *pitā*, Gk. *patēr*, B *tarya* nominative-accusative feminine 'three' : Gk. *tría*, B *puwar* 'fire' : Gk. *pûr*), the *e*-coloring one merged with the reflex to PIE *e* in Proto-Tocharian, yielding palatalizing **ä*. Examples for the latter development are B *eś* (extended dual form B *eśane*) 'eyes' : Gk. *ósse*, Skt. *ákṣī*, and the numerous optative (-imperfect) forms with a suffix B *-i* < PIE **-yE-*. To these, we may confidently add B */-är/* {-*ərX*} < PIE **-rE*.

7. A few comments are called for concerning the second variant of the Tocharian B third person plural suffix of the active preterit, viz., B *-re*. The comparison by Krause (1952 : 201) with **-re* in Lat. *lēgere* cannot be upheld, at least not if Lat. *-re* is derived from PIE *-re* since this sequence could have yielded nothing else but B *-r*.

It seems advisable to look for an explanation of the variation of B *-r* and *-re* in a strictly Tocharian context.

In the suppletive paradigm of the copula, we find in B a strange mixture of present-tense forms : B *ste* 'is' occurs side-by-side with a bound form B *star-*, non-Eastern B *skente* 'they are' is matched by Eastern B *stare*, which in its turn alternates with bound Eastern B *skentar-*. B *ste* and *skente* are, in terms of morphology, forms of the mediopassive, reconstructible as reflexes of *(E)s-*ske-to* and *(E)s-*ske-nto*, respectively. Both forms fit the pattern of the preterit of Tocharian B. B *star-* also has the shape of a mediopassive third person singular, this time, however, of the present, viz., *(E)s-*ske-tr* (or **-tri*). B *stare* is a regular plural neither of B *ste* (this is B *skente*, as has just been pointed out) nor of B *star-* (here B *skentar-* enters the picture, though *-a-* (/ǎ/)) requires the additional comment that the vocalism of monosyllabic B *star-* was transferred to B *skentar-*). If we now, as is plausible, assume that the more irregular pattern is the more original one, it follows that B *ste* and B *stare* are the basic forms. As has been stated, B *ste* is a regular form of a mediopassive preterit; the corollary of our assumption concerning the antiquity of the *ste* : *stare* pattern is that we have to identify B *stare* as the original third person plural of the mediopassive preterit. B *-e* is indeed the distinguishing marker of the mediopassive voice in the third person singular of preterit forms : B *paiyka* 'he wrote' (<*t) : B *paiykāte* 'he wrote for himself' (<*-to). The conclusion seems warranted that B *-nte* in the third person plural of the mediopassive preterit was reshaped after the *-t* : *-nt* pattern of the nonpreterit, replacing an older B *-re* (while this replacement must



have occurred in Common Tocharian, it is best described in terms of B). B -re now was available as a variant of B -r without a diathesis-marking value. It is noteworthy that in stems normally requiring B -re, in a few instances B -r is found instead; witness B *prautkar* 'they were filled', B *weñārmés* 'they said to them' (beside B *weñāre* 'they said' in the same text), B *yāmšar* 'they made' (beside regular B *yamašare/yāmšare*). The deviant forms may indicate that the prevailing pattern B /-a-re/ : /-ər/ may have replaced an earlier B /-a-r/ : /ər/. Unfortunately, the comparable endings A/-a-r/ (syncopated from /-a-r/) : A/-ər/ do not provide evidence one way or other as the equivalent of B -e would be A -Ø.

8. What seems to have happened in Tocharian in this case too is that inherited forms have been reassigned to new functions or have been remodeled to fit newly developed patterns. There is nothing unusual about this; developments as those described here should, however, constantly remind us that prior to reaching out for cross-language comparison, language-internal configurations have to be assessed.

Notes :

¹The statements made here about the accentuation system in Tocharian B repeat observations published by a student of mine (Marggraf 1970) and myself (Winter 1980). They help to avoid the difficulties and internal inconsistencies found in Krause (1952), Krause—Thomas (1960), and Van Windekens (1976). The most recent treatment of the topic, Bonfante (1986) suffers greatly from excessive carelessness in the presentation of the materials and a disturbing lack of rigorous thinking and argumentation; the article can safely be disregarded here.



The Treatment of ṛ in Old Indo-Aryan

Satya Ranjan Banerjee

The treatment of the Indo-European (=IE) ṛ (as also Indo-Iranian (=IIr) ṛ) in Old Indo-Aryan (=OIA) and Middle Indo-Aryan (=MIA) is manifold. This IE ṛ is fully preserved in OIA as ṛ and it becomes ʾrʾ in Avestan and ar (ra) in Old Persian (=OP). In MIA it is changed into different vowels, such as, a, i, u preceded or followed by r. The reason why ṛ is changed into different vowels accompanied or preceded by r is difficult to ascertain. But it is a normal guess that the change of ṛ into different vowels is generally determined by the influence of the consonants which stand in the vicinity of the original ṛ. The usual change of ṛ is a(r) or ra, and the sibilants or palatals change it into i(r) or ri and the labials to u(r) or ru. This fact can partly be substantiated by a comparative study of the Iranian and Indian materials as preserved in the phonetic treatises of India. The present study reveals the fact that some amount of reason can be traced on the basis of pronunciation of ṛ as prevalent in the time of the dissemination of the Indo-Iranian people as a branch of Indo-European.

The pronunciation of ṛ as recorded in different phonetic texts might play a prominent part in the transformation of the sound into MIA. It is a fact worth noting that in the *Prātisākhya*s and in some *Śikṣā*s the cerebral pronunciation of ṛ is not recorded. "The earliest available record of the cerebral pronunciation of ṛ and r may be noticed in the *Varṇa-Sūtra* of Candragomin (*mūrdhā ṛ-ṭu-ra-ṣāṇām*, No. 6), the lower limit of whose date, according to Leibich, was the seventh century A.D. It is possible that the later grammarians of the Pāṇinian school and some of the *Śikṣā*s borrowed this opinion from Candragomin, whose work exercised considerable influence on the later development of Indian grammatical literature". Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita (1630 A.D. ?) on Pāṇini's *tulyāśya-prayatnam savarṇam* (I. 19), records that ṛ is cerebral (*ṛ-ṭu-ṛa-ṣāṇām mūrdhāḥ*). However, the pronunciation of ṛ as recorded in the phonetic texts is tabulated thus :

(See p. 120)

From this it appears that ṛ was a velar (*jihvāmūliya*) should in RP, VP, AP and RKT, i.e., its place of origin is the root of the tongue, while TP describes it as an alveolar or post-dental, i.e., the tongue touches the gum above the upper teeth, whereas in PŚ and Sanskrit-grammar it is a cerebral sound.

	Velar jihvāmūliya	Alveolar	Cerebral
ṛ.	RP. ṛkāra-ḷkāra vatha ṣaṣṭha ūṣmā jihvāmūliyāḥ (I. 18) AP. jihvāmūliyānām hanumūlam (I. 20) a comm. under it. cf. also VP. I. 65, 69, RKT. 4.	TP. upasaṃ hṛta+are ca jihvāgram ṛkāra-r-kāra-ḷ- kāreṣu barsveṣū- prasaṃharati (II. 18) barsva = "the high places behind the row of teeth."	PŚ. syur mūrdhanyā ṛ-tu-ra-ṣāḥ (17). cf. Candrago- min quoted above.

The velar quality of ṛ might be responsible for its change into a which is also a velar sound, as is also corroborated by the evidence of Avestan *ərə* and OP. *ar* side by side with *ur*. As the *r* quality is not lost altogether in Avestan and OP., its development into *ar* or *ra* is quite obvious. This is evident in the Aśokan, Niyā or Kharoṣṭhī Prakrit in the Western part of India, where *r* is preserved.

This velar pronunciation of ṛ seems to be the oldest, and therefore this oldest tendency of ṛ is to transform ṛ into a through *ar* or *ra* as the place of utterance is the same. This tendency first started in the Iranian and was preserved in the R̥gveda. For example, in the RV we find *vikṛta* and *vikāṭa*, *vṛta* and *vaṭa*, *bhṛta* and *bhaṭa*, *nṛta* and *naṭa* used side by side. In Iranian also the change of ṛ to *ar* or *ərə* is quite frequent, e.g., Av. *apərənāyu* 'boy', Phl. *apurnāyak*, N.P. *barnā*, *burnā*; Av. *kərəma* 'warm', Phl. *karm*, NP. *kirm*; Av. *sarəta* 'cold', Phl. *sarṭ*, N.P. *sard*. This change of ṛ > a occurs in almost all stages of MIA. For instance, OIA. *mṛta* > Aś. *maṭa*, Pā. *mata*; Pkt. *maa*; OIA. *mṛga* > Aś. *maga* (G), Pā. *maga*, Pkt. *maa*; OIA. *apakṛṣṭa* > Aś. *apakāṭha*, Pkt. *apakatṭha*; OIA. *prakṛta* > Niyā. *pragata* Pā. *pagata*, Pkt. *paaa/payaa*; OIA. *ṛṇaheta* > Niyā. *anahetu*; OIA. *kṛta* > Pā. *kata*, Pkt. *kaa/kaya*; OIA. *gr̥ha* > Pā. *gaha*, Pkt. *gaha-vai*; OIA. *ghṛta* > Pā. *ghata*, Pkt. *ghaa*; OIA. *mṛtyu* > Pā. Pkt. *maccu*; OIA. *satkṛta* > Pkt. *sakkaya*.

The alveolar quality of ṛ as given by TP. might have influenced its change into i also accompanied or preceded by *r*. For example, OIA. *kṛta* > Aś. *kiṭa* (M); OIA. *mṛga* > Aś. *mr̥ga* (M), *miga* (DJ); OIA. *kṛtya* > Niyā. *kica*; OIA. *kṛta* > Niyā. *kida*; OIA. *ṛṇa* > Pā. *iṇa*, Pkt. *iṇa/riṇa*; OIA. *ṛṣi* > Pā. Pkt. *isi*; OIA. *tṛṇa* > Pā. Pkt. *tiṇa*, also *taṇa* in Pkt. The change of ṛ to i occurs also in the Iranian dialects,

e.g., OIA. *tṛṣṇā* > Av. *trašna* 'thirst', Phl. *tišn*, NP. *tiš*; Av. *arəša* 'bear', Phl. NP. *xirs*, Kurd. *vir*, *hirs*; Av. *garəpta* 'seized', NP. *giriftah*, Bal. *gipta*.

In Niyā Prakrit the regular treatment of *ṛ* is *ri*. Sometimes the written form is found as *ṛ* or *ṛṛ* though perhaps the actual pronunciation would be *ri*; e.g., OIA. *kṛta* > Niyā. *kṛita*, OIA. *kṛṣṭi* > Niyā *krisati*, OIA. *ghṛta* > NP. *ghrida*, OIA. *gr̥hastha* > Niyā. *grihasta*, OIA. *dṛḍha* > NP. *driṭha*, OIA *pr̥cchati* > Niyā. *prichati*. In Pāli also *ṛ* becomes *ri* as also in Pkt; e.g., OIA *ṛte* > Pā. *rite*, Pkt. *nie*; OIA. *ṛddhi* > Pkt. *riddhi*.

Apart from the fact that the influence of the neighbouring labial sound often changes *ṛ* to *u* also accompanied by *r*, the evidence of the *Prātiśākhya*s is not strong enough to record its pronunciation with a labial sound which is preserved in some NIA languages, such as, Oriya, Marāṭhi, and even in some south Indian languages. But we have evidence by which we can say that the combination of *ṛ*+*t* is often changed to *u* in the Western region; e.g., OIA. *ṛtu* > Pkt. *uu*, in Mahārāṣṭrī. The change of *ṛ* to *u* is also one of the earliest phenomena which is found in OP. as well as in RV., e.g., *√kṛ* > OIA. 2nd imp. *kuru* (as if from **kṛnu*), OIA. *kṛṇoti* > Pkt. *kuṇai*. This change of *ṛ* to *u* is not due to the immediate association of a labial consonant. But, on the contrary, instances are available where the same word is found with *u* and other vowels as well. Historically *u* is the general tendency in Aśokan and in later inscriptions, such as, Gāndhāra and Niyā in the North—Western Prakrits. For example, OIA. *vṛkṣa* > Aś. *vracha* (G), Pkt. *vaccha*, *rukkha*. Grammatically, though *rukkha* is derived from *vṛkṣa*, it can really be derived from *rukṣa* which has become *rukkha* in Pkt. and Pāli and its modern Indian cognates are Old Beng. *rukh*, Ur. *rūkha* Mar. *rūkh*, Simh. *ruk*, *rik*, Gyp. *ruk*. Other examples are OIA. *mṛta* > Aś. *muṭa*; OIA *mṛga* > Aś. *mruga*; OIA. *vṛddha* > Aś. *vuddha*.

The evidences of Niyā, Pāli and Pkt. show that the development of *ṛ* into *u* is very regular; e.g., OIA. *bhṛti* > Niyā. *hudi*, OIA. *prabhṛta* > Niyā. *prahuda*; OIA. *ṛtu* > Pā. *utu*, Pkt. *uu* (M), *udu* (Ś); OIA. *ṛṣabha* > Pā. *usabha*, Pkt. *usaha*, *vusaha*; OIA. *vṛddha* > Pā. *vuddha*, Pkt. *vuḍḍha*. In Iranian dialects this tendency is also noticed, e.g., Av. *kərənaoiti* 'makes', Paz. *kunon*, NP. *kunad*, Gil. *kudan*, also *kardan*, OIA. *akṛṇavam* 'I did' > O.P. *akunavam*, OIA. *akṛṇot* > OP. *akunaus* (cf. Av. *kərəta* 'done'); Av. *vərəḍka* 'kidney', Phl. *gurtak*, NP. *gurdah*, Bal. *guttiy*. Both in Niyā and Pāli *ṛ* is developed into *ru*, e.g., OIA. *pr̥cchati* > Niyā. *pruchati*; OIA. *mṛduka* > Niyā. *mruduka*; OIA *pr̥sthesu* > Niyā. *pruthesu*. In Pāli OIA *br̥mhayati* becomes *brūheti*.

Though instances are available where *ṛ* is changed to *e*, this is very rare both in OIA and MIA, and also in Iranian; e.g., OIA *gr̥ha* > *geha* (both in OIA and MIA), Old Hindi *geha*, Mar. *geh*, Sinh. *gē*, *geya*. OIA *gr̥hya* > Pkt. *gejjha* (also in Aś). The Aś *dekhati* (cf. OIA. *prekṣate*) presupposes **dr̥kṣyati* in the sense of *drakṣyati*. OIA *br̥hatphala* > Pā. *beha-pphala*. Ar. *varəša* 'forest' > Phl. *vēšak*, NP. *bēšah*.

The change of *ṛ* to *o* is extremely rare, except one or two instances it is seldom found, e.g., OIA. *mṛṣā* > Pkt. *mosā*, *mūsā*, Pā. *musā*, so also OIA. *mṛṣāvādin* > Pkt. *mosāvāa*, *mūsāvāa*, Pā. *musāvādi(n)*.

It is to be noted that though *ṛ* is altogether lost in MIA, its retention in Apabhraṃśa may be regarded as a sort of Sanskritization which began at the time of Apabhraṃśa and perpetuated at the emergence of NIA dialects. For example, OIA. *tṛṇa* > Ap. *tṛṇu taṇu*, *tiṇu*, OIA. *sukṛta* > Ap. *sukṛdu*, *sukidu*.

The above survey, at least, tells us that the pronunciation of *ṛ* was not uniform throughout the ages. This fact is also corroborated by the evidences of the *Prātiśākhya*s and *Śikṣā*s which have recorded the different types of pronunciation of *ṛ* as were current in ancient times. The change of *ṛ* into *a, i, u* accompanied by *r* shows the type of pronunciation of *ṛ*. In some areas *ṛ* was pronounced with an *a*-colouring vowel, and in some with *i*- or *u*-colouring. In all cases it is accompanied by *r*. These different types of pronunciation are nothing but dialectal, and as a result they have developed accordingly even in OIA and also in MIA. This still holds good in the NIA. dialects.

Notes and References

1. S. Varma, *Critical Studies in the Phonetic Observations of Indian Grammarians*, London, 1929 (also reprinted by Munshi Ram Manohar Lal, Delhi, 1961.), p. 8.



Reconstruction of Proto-Boro Consonants

Swapan Kumar Bandyopadhyay

The Boro languages are spread over the east and north-east region of India. Boro is a cover term for a member of languages, such as Boro, Garo, Mech, Rabha, Koch etc. Grierson (1926) recognised the Boro group of languages and their affiliation with the Tibeto-Burman family. However, R. Burling is the first scholar to attempt a systematic study of Proto-Boro (*Language*, 1959,35;3)

The object of the present paper is to determine the phonemic relationship among the constituents of the Boro group and to reconstruct the consonant phonemes of Proto-Boro.

The material was collected from North Bengal and Assam. The speakers of Rabha and Mech dwell along the borders of North Bengal and Assam. Kokrajhar district of Assam and Garo hills of Meghalaya, are the main centres of Boro and Garo. Some Garo speakers are also found in the forests of North Bengal.

First, the consonant phonemes of each language, have been discussed. Then a list of cognates have been arranged to establish the proto form. The phonemic correspondences are considered for reconstruction.

Syllable plays an important role in Tibeto-Burman languages. The minimum syllabic structure of a language of Boro group is vowel, or a vowel preceded and/or followed by a consonant. The initial syllable of a disyllabic word ends either in a vowel or a consonant (CV or CVC). The boundary between two syllable is marked by a hyphen (-).

In Boro, Mech and Garo languages /ptk/ are highly aspirated initially, and /bdg/ are, sometimes, weakly voiced. /cj/ realized as affricates in these languages and they are absent in Boro and Mech. Among the fricatives the presence of /sʃh/ is noticed in all languages, /z/ is present in Boro and Mech only. A voiceless bilabial fricative Φ is found only in Rabha. In Boro and Rabha /s/ is sometimes

realized as [ts]— a dental affricate. The frequency of /ʃ/ is not regular. The languages show the presence of three nasals /mnŋ/ and liquids /rl/. The only semivowel /w/ is found in Boro and Garo. All the consonants except /ŋ/ and /ʔ/ can occur initially. Other syllable final consonants are /m n r l p t k/.

The consonant phonemes of Boro, Mech, Rabha and Garo are as follows :

Boro	Mech	Rabha	Garo
p t k ?	p t k ?	p t k ?	p t k ?
b d g	b d g	b d g	b d g
m n ŋ	m n ŋ	m n ŋ	m n ŋ
r	r	r	r
l	l	l	l
s z ʃ h	s z ʃ h	c j	c j
w		Φ s ʃ h	s ʃ
			w

A list of cognates is given below. As already mentioned the data is phonemicized and the entries under each language would show the correspondences of consonants. On the basis of correspondences of consonant segments (tentatively) proto-Boro consonants have been reconstructed. A list of proto-Boro consonants is followed with the list of cognates.

COGNATES OF BORO-MECH-RABHA-GARO

Boro	Mech	Rabha	Garo	Gloss
ha-to-pla	ha-to-pla	Φuŋ-ji	tap-pa	ashes
gə-zəu	gə-zou	kir	go ʃak	above
taŋ-nai	taŋ-nai	teŋ-a	taŋ-a	alive
—	ʃə(m)-nə	ʃəŋ	ʃiŋ	ask for
a-pak-əŋ	pak na	Φak-ar	pək-wal	armpit
wa ?	ba ?	ba	wa ?	bamboo
bi-gur	bi-gur	bo-lək	bigu r/l	bark, skin
mu-pur	mi-pur	mak-Φər	mak-pur/l	bear
be-re ?	be-re	—	bi-ja	bee
ge-der	ge-det	kə-ta	ga-dat	big

<i>Boro</i>	<i>Mech</i>	<i>Rabha</i>	<i>Garó</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
dao	dao	tou	dou	bird
gi-ka	gi-ka	ka ?-a	ka ?-a	bitter
gə-šum	gə-šom	—	gi-šim	black
təi	təi	ci	an-ci	blood
bar	bar	Φar	bal/r	blow
—	—	ruŋ	riŋ	boat
be-geŋ	be-geŋ	ke-reŋ	ge-reŋ	bone
šu-lao	ca-leo	deu-ta	sro-a ?	borrow
me-lem	me-lem	tu-luŋ	ta-riŋ	brain
ba ?	ba ?	pa ?	ba ?	carry (on back)
gə-tə	gə-tə	sa	bi-sa	child
ši	ši	šok-ək	—	cloth
ko-kap	kau-kap	ka-tol-ək	ku-dum-ək	chin
bur-nai	bat-co-nə	pa-ni	bat-ta	cross
gap	gap	kan-ce	ga-pa	cry
dan	dan	tan	den-a	cut
san	san	san	sal	day, sun
məi	məi	mak-cək	mat-cək	deer
toi	təi	ci	si	die
zao	zao	—	cok	dig
si-maŋ	si-maŋ	si-məŋ	so-maŋ	dream
ləŋ-	ləŋ-	leŋ	riŋ	drink
ran	ran	ran	ran	dry
ki	ki	ki	ki	dung
me-gən	mə-gən	mə-kər	mik-gən	eye
ha ?	ha ?	ha	ha ?-a	earth
za	za	cai	ca ?	eat
məi-der	məi-det	mom-pou	məŋ-ma	elephant
gik-la	gok-lai	ka-rei	ga ?-a-ka	fall
gU-zam	gə-zan	pi-cen	cel-a	far
gi	gi-	kir	gen	fear
gaŋ	gaŋ	ka-raŋ	ga-raŋ	feather
a-si	na-si	ei-si	si	finger
ər	bar	bar	wal	fire
na ?	na ?	nə	na ?-tok	fish
ba	ba	poŋ-a	boŋ-a	five

<i>Boro</i>	<i>Mech</i>	<i>Rabha</i>	<i>Garó</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
bi-bar	bi-bar	par	bi-bal	flower
bir	bir	pu-wa	bir	fly
bi-tei	bi-tei	tei	bi-te	fruit
mɔ-kəŋ	mɔ-kəŋ	maŋ	ma-kəŋ	face
mən	mən	ma-sa	man-a	get
hai-zeŋ	ha-zeŋ	ciŋ-kou	i-ciŋ	ginger
hɛ	hɔ-nɔ ?	hao-a	ɔn-na ?	give
ka-nai	ka-	kɔ-mən	kin-i	hair
a-kai	a kae	cak-aŋ	jak	hand
dəŋ	dəŋ	təŋ	dəŋ-a	have
kɔ-rɔ	ko-ro	tək-əm	ɔ-kɔ	head
ka-na	ka-na	na	ka-na ?-a	hear
gi-lir	gi-lit	lia	—	heavy
ha ?-kor	ha ?-kor	ha-kor	a-kɔr	hole
kɔŋ	gəŋ	kɔ-rəŋ	grəŋ	horn
gu-duŋ	gu-duŋ	tuŋ	diŋ-a	hot
no ?	nɔ ?	nɔ	nɔk	house
bi	bi	u	bi-a	he
aŋ	aŋ	aŋ	aŋ	I
bi-bu	bi-bu	puk	ɔk-bi-bɛk	intestine
ser	sər	sər	sɛl	iron
mi-ni	ni-ni	mi-ni	—	laugh
gəp-ləŋ	gəp-ləŋ	kap-laŋ	—	leak
lu-wat	lu-at	i-lu	e-ru	leech
se-la-	ce-la-	ce-lak	se-ra	lick
gu-sut-ti	gɛ-sut-ti	hu-siŋ	kau-sil	lip
mɔ-kra	mɔ-kra	mɔ-ka	ma-kre	monkey
puŋ	puŋ	pe-raŋ	pe-riŋ	morning
ha ?-zi-ma	ha ?-zɔ	ha-cur	—	mountain
ku-ga	kau	hu	ku-aŋ	mouth
tai-zou	tai-zeu	bɔ-cɔt	te-ga-cu	mango
mɛŋ	muŋ	moŋ	bi-mɛŋ	name
gən-təŋ	gun-tuŋ	nɔ-kuŋ	gən-təŋ	nose
o-ma	ba-ma	bak	wak	pig
bi-paŋ	paŋ	Φaŋ	paŋ	plant
lam-a	lam-a	lam	ram-a	road
zu-mai	zou	co-kɔt	cu	rice beer

<i>Boro</i>	<i>Mech</i>	<i>Rabha</i>	<i>Garó</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
mai	mae	mai	mi-gil	rice (paddy)
mai-roŋ	mae-roŋ	mai-roŋ	mi-roŋ	rice (uncooked)
ɔ-ka	no-ka	raŋ-ka	mɔ ?-ka	rain
en-zot	in-zut	mɔ-cot	mi-ce	rat
rɔ-da	rə-da	cɔ-tur	ja ?-dtl	root
ge-seo	ge-sea	Φi-sou	so-a	rotten
šon-kri	šon-krei	šom	ka-ri	salt
pan	pan-nɔ	Φan-ni	pal-la	sell
sni	si-ni	sin	sin	seven
ɔn-tai	ɔn-tai	lɔŋ-tai	roŋ-te	stone
gɔ-sɔŋ	gɔ-sɔŋ	sap	sa-deŋ	stand
pap-li	pap-li	Φaŋ-roŋ	pak-rɔŋ	shoulder
pi-sa	bi-sa	sa	bi-sa	son
lan-zei	lan-zi	ci-mei	ki ?-mi	tail
šu ?	šu ?	šu	bu-šu ?	thorn
tam	tam	tam	git-tam	three
sa-lai	sa-lai	se-lai	sre	tongue
ga-raŋ	ga-raŋ	kan-cel	ku ?-raŋ	voice
kan-nai	gan-	kan	cin-na	wear
dɔi	dɔi	ci-ka	ci	water
han-zao	hin-zao	mi-cik	me-cik	woman
sər	sər	saŋ	sa-wa	who
ba-bao	ba	bi-aŋ	ba-ci	where
bi-pa	a-pa	a-Φa	a-pa	father
noŋ	naŋ	neŋ	na ?-a	you

Comparing the correspondences tentative Prot-Boro consonants have been established. A list of Proto-Boro Consonants and their derivation in different daughter languages is given below. The abbreviations used here are as follows: Boro=B, Mech=M, Rabha=R, Garo=G. Initial and final position of a syllable is indicated as (I) and (F).

*p(I)>B: p, M:p, R:Φ, G:p; Ex. ashes, bear, plant

*p(F)>B:p, M:p, R:p, G:Ø; Ex. shoulder, leak

*t(I)>B:t, M:t, R:t, G:t; Ex. ashes, alive, blood, die, fruit, three, stone

*t(F)>B:t, M:t, R:t, G:t; Ex. cross, leech, rat, rice-beer.



- *k(I)>B:k, M:k, R:k/h, G:k; Ex. chin, dung, rain, mouth, wear.
 *k(F)>B:Ø, M:Ø, R:k, g:k, Ex. armpit, deer, intestine, woman.
 *b(I)>B:b, M:b, R:p, G:b; Ex. bark, bee, blow, carry, cross, intestine, he, fruit, fly, flower, five, wind, where.
 *d(I)>B:d, M:d, R:t, G:d, Ex. big, bird, cut, meat, root have water.
 *g(I)>B:g, M:g, R:k, G:g; Ex. above big, black, bark, bitter cry, eye, fall, fear, feather, leak, lip, nose.
 *m(I)>B:m, M:m, R:m, G:m; Ex. bear, dear, dream, eye, get monkey, name, paddy, woman, elephant.
 *m(F)>B:m, M:m, R:m, G:m; Ex. black, road, three
 *n(I)>B:n, M:n, R:n, G:n; Ex. cut, day, dry, eye, get, sell, sun, wear.
 *n(F)>B:n, M:n, R:n, G:n; Ex. cut, day, dry, eye, get, sell, sun, wear.
 *ŋ(I)>B:ŋ, M:ŋ, R:ŋ, G:ŋ; Ex. alive, ask, bone, dream, drink, feather, face, ginger, hot, horn, I, light, many, morning, name, nose, plant, rice, tree, you.
 *r(I)>B:r, M:r, R:r, G:r; Ex. light, rice, bark, voice, dry.
 *r(F)>B:r, M:r, R:r, G:r; Ex. flower, fly, hole, wind, bear, fire, bark.
 *l(F)>B:l, M:l, R:l, G:r; Ex. road, leak, beech, lick.
 *l(I)>B:n, M:n, R:n, G:l; Ex. day, salt, far.
 *c(I)>B:z, M:z, R:c, G:c; Ex. blood, cat, ginger, mountain, mango, rice-beer, woman, deer, far, rat.
 *j(I)>B:Ø, M:Ø, R:c, G:j; Ex. hand, meat, root.
 *s(I)>B:s, M:s, R:s, G:s; Ex. day, dream, finger, iron, lip, seven, stand, son, tongue, who.
 *š(I)>B:š, M:š, R:š, G:š; Ex. ask, cloth, black.
 *h(I)>B:h, M:h, R:h, G:Ø Ex. earth hole
 *?(F)>B:?, M:?, R:Ø, G:?, Ex. bamboo, carry, fish, house, thorn, earth.
 *w(I)>B:w, M:b, R:b, G:w; Ex. bamboo, pig.

The tentative proto-Boro consonants, after a careful analysis of the consonant correspondence, of Boro, Mech, Rebha and Garo, could be as follows :

p	t	k	?
b	d	g	
m	n	ŋ	
		r	
		l	
		c	j
w	s	š	h

All the consonants except */ʔ/ and */ŋ/ can occur initially. */ʔ/ and */ɸ/ occurred only in syllable final position. */p t k m n r l/ occurred both syllable initially and finally.

The relation between proto-Boro and its daughter languages is shown as follows: */p/ changes to /ɸ/ in Rabha initially and lost finally in Garo. */k/ is lost finally in Boro and Mech. */b/ and */m n ŋ/ and */r/ do not show any change in these languages. */l/ changes to /r/ in Garo initially but remain unchanged finally, whereas it changes to /n/ in Boro, Mech and Rabha. The affricate */tʃ/ changes to voiced fricative /z/ in Boro and Mech and */j/ is lost in Boro and Mech and realized as /c/ in Rabha. */w/ changes to bilabial plosive /b/ in Mech and Rabha. */h/ and */z/ show their absence in Garo and Rabha respectively.

The present analysis of proto-Boro shows a conformity with analysis of Burling published about thirty years ago. The number of proto-consonants—their place and manner of articulation stated in both the analyses (Burling's and the present one) is similar except that the present analysis attested a palatal fricative */ʃ/ which is realized unchanged in all languages.

The observation made by Burling about */p/ is to be noted here again. Similar observation about the existence of */p/ has been made in this paper. Initially */p/ is highly aspirated in all languages, except in Rabha where a bilabial fricative /ɸ/ exists in place of */p/. Considering the frequency of occurrence of */p/ in final position of a syllable and presence of */b/ suggested the existence of */p/ in these languages.

The comparison of the consonant phoneme reveals that the languages are very close to each other and particularly Boro and Mech have a closer relationship.

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On the Genealogy of Darius

Bhabataran Datta

A discrepancy is noticed* in the genealogy of Darius I (522-480 BC), as stated by himself, in his Behistan Inscriptions, Column I, where he claimed that he is the ninth sovereign to rule Persia. Our first suspicion arises when Darius counted, in the genealogy, the name of his father Hystaspes (late 6th cent. BC) as a sovereign while Hystaspes was actually a *satrap* of Persia under Cyrus II (559-529 BC) and Cambyses II (529-522 BC). It was only when Darius seized the throne in 522 BC that Hystaspes joined his son Darius. A further prodding of the personal nomenclature will further reveal another discrepancy. Our second suspicion arises when Darius, as the ninth sovereign, mentioned the names of only five sovereigns as his predecessors. They are Hystaspes, Arsames, Ariaramnes (640-615 BC), Teispes and Achaemenes (early 7th cent. BC) instead of the expected eight, which would have justified his statements. It is interesting to note here that Darius himself "belonged to a collateral branch of the royal family, and as his father and grandfather were alive at his accession, it is unlikely that he was next in line to the throne".

More interesting to note that Darius himself accompanied Cambyses II, the son of Cyrus II an heir to the throne, in Egypt as a member of the royal bodyguard. After the death of Cambyses II in the summer of 522 B.C. Darius hastened to Media, where in September, with the help of six Persian nobles he killed Bardiya (Smerdis), another son of Cyrus II, who had usurped the throne the previous March (and seized the throne). His father Hystaspes joined him. Our third suspicion arises as to the integrity of Darius I, who was a member of the collateral branch of the royal family and one time member of the royal bodyguard in Egypt, when he defended this murder of Bardiya (Smerdis) and his own assumption of kingship on the grounds that the usurper to the throne was not Smerdis but Gaumata, a Magian, who impersonated Bardiya after Bardiya had been murdered secretly by Cambyses II and ultimately claimed himself to be the restorer of the kingship to the rightful Achamenid house. The inscribed story of Darius, however, is being contradicted by

*This was brought to my notice by Dr. Subhadra Kumar Sen, Department of Linguistics, Calcutta University.

some modern scholars who considered that Darius invented the story of Gaumata in order to justify his actions which was to say the least a political intrigue.

However, as to the discrepancy in the genealogy of Darius (himself belonging to a collateral branch of the royal family), we find that he did mention the names of the five of his sovereign ancestors and not eight as he should have done. But with reference to his accession to the kingship we know that before 522 BC, the year of his usurpation to the kingship, we have in record a galaxy of four sovereigns like Cambyses II (529-522 BC), Cyrus II (559-529 BC) who came from a long line of ruling chiefs, Cambyses I (600-559 BC) and Cyrus I (late 7th cent BC). In that case Darius' sovereign position would have been the tenth one but the lacuna persists. Anyway, xsāyaθiya xsā [yaθiyānām xsāyaθiya pārsaiy xsāθiya dahyūnāmn] vistāspahyā pussa dārayava(h)us could have maintained a discreet silence as to the mystery of the two collateral branches, claiming a hoary lineage.

Notes

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The Dizfūtī a dialect of modern Persian

Chinmoy Dutt

Prior to my study of Iranian Dialectology I was under the impression that although the Iranian dialects as such were many, there was only one language spoken throughout Iran, but my study proved that the fact was otherwise. Every province in Iran has got a distinct dialect of its own—sometimes there are more than one variety current in the same district, and often a particular local dialect happens to be so different from Modern Persian as to merit the name and status of a language on its own. Frequently we find the townsmen to have largely adopted the standard speech with slight local modifications, but the inhabitants of the country-sides round about are still conservative and stick to the pure form of the old dialect or language : thus bringing about a marked difference between the urban and the rural vulgar speech throught the whole of Iran generally.

Besides the speeches shown in the chart are generally described as dialects of modern Persian, their are other languages spoken within the frontiers of Iran. Kurdish is an important Iranian language a sister speech of Modern Persian, and this is spoken by a good many tribes in Western Iran. But the kurds who are Persian subjects invariably learn and use modern Persian. There are some Turkī speakers and some Arabs also besides Béluchis, who are Iranians just like the Kurds and the Iranians proper.

The present work contains a collection of Dizfūlī words collected from Dr. J. M. Unvalae monograph "Contribution to modern Persian Dialectology the Lury and Dizfūlī dialects published in Indo-Iranica in 1955. The Dizfūlīs were gnerally residing in the Poshta Kūt region in Iran and the people of Dizfūl are considered to be a mixture of Lurs and Arabs. The Dizfūl dialect could keep up its existence as little contaminated as possible by modern Persian, Arabic and Turkish, and if it had borrowed words from these languages, they had already undergone peculiar native phonetic changes and they have become irrecongnisable as Sanskrit.

As this dialect has no literature and as the Persian characters and particularly script which do not record short vowels would not faithfully record their exact pronunciation.

The Dizfūlī and other Iranian dialects run the risk of extinction with the spread of the rapid means of communication in Iran coupled with the compulsory education through modern Persian and the compulsory military service. But only tape-recording of spontaneous conversations or discourses by this tribesmen in their native dialects would give, I think, the best help to the study of Iranian dialects with the accents and sounds, sound sequences and intonations peculiar to them.

Phonetic Changes

1. Per /ā/ is changed in Diz. /ō/ e.g. Per. dāmān>Diz. dōman=hem
Per. waragāw>Diz. warzō=a plowghing ox.
2. Per. /ū/ is changed in Diz. /ī/ e.g. Per. hūnūnz>Diz. hunī = yet, still
3. Per. /ō/ is changed in Diz. to /a/ e.g. Per. khōrdan>Diz. Khardan
= to eat
4. Per. /h/ is changed to Diz. kh e.g. Per. hīzum>Diz. khima =
fire-wood
5. Per. /j/ is changed in Diz. /y/ e.g. Per. kūja>Diz. Kuyā = where
6. Per. /k/ is changed to Diz. /ch/ e.g. Per. nauk>Diz. nāch = the
nib of a pen

Besides these phonetic changes, Assimilation, Contraction, Elision, disintregation and Onomatopoeia are also found in Dizfūlī, foreign words from Avestan, Pāzand, Pahlavi, French, Russian, Arabic are also found in Dizfūlī. The Plural number is formed by the suffix —ūn and-ān for the animate beings and sometimes also for the inanimate objects e.g. Diz. khesht>pl. kheshtia-ñnā = bricks. The following dialectal verb forms are met with Per. √ āmadan = to come>Diz. āma ; Per. √ istādan = to stand>Diz. wastadīm = We were standing, Per. beistad, Diz. westā, Per. √ kardan to do, Diz. √ kartan Per. √ menīdan. Diz. √ mānīndan/ √ mānestan, Per. √ raftan = to go Diz. √ nui = thou goest. The Per. emphatic particle /be/ which precedes the imparative is very often dropped in Dizfūlī. This emphatic particle /be/ is often employed in Diz. in place of Persian /mi/ showing the continuity of an action which is derived from Per. hamev = always; in some cases Per /mi/ is replaced by —ma— in Dizfūlī.

Glosary

1. ise/isa, P. isā = now, ready
2. Pishin. P. pishin = early, forenoon, morning.



3. hanī. P. hūnūz = still, yet.
4. ūse/ūsā. P. ān waqt = then
5. dōmñ. P. daman = behind/backwards
6. ilatar. P. in rāhtar = here
7. tā P. andar = in, inside
8. kuyā P. kily = where
9. chāp, P. chāp = upside down
10. pāhlu P. pīch-e = before, in company with
11. darzñ P. az pāyin = from below
12. bē/bi P. bi = without
13. mer P. mar = perhaps
14. pal/pel P. kalān = large, great, big
15. hil P. hil = blond, blond man
16. pūk P. pūk = holloū, deep
17. cherkan P. chirgīn = filthy, dirty, nasty
18. porr P. porr = full
19. chadar P. in qadr = of this size
20. ākadar, P. ān qadr = of that size
21. pandanida P. khisānida = soaked
22. kalūch P. keluj = squint-eyed
23. kors P. seft, sift = tight, fast, compact
24. yāru P. yāru = a friend
25. kalla P. binamak = unsalted
26. wārunā P. warūn/wārūha = upside down
27. henūñ P. az ānhā = from these
28. warzō P. warzgāw = a ploughing-ox
29. gōsāla = P. gosāl = calf
30. kōr P. kurre = the colt of a horse, camel or ass
31. tūra P. chaqāl/shakāl/shaghāl = jackāl
32. bozīla P. buzghāla/ghāle = kid
33. mādyūn P. mādyān = mare
34. mūshk/mōshk P. mūsh/mūshak = mouse; musk-rat
35. gērza P. garza = field mouse/a very venomous kind of serpent.
36. chūla P. kharpusht = porcupine
37. karkadan P. kerkedan = rhinoceros
38. gōmūr/gawāz P. gūzen/guzenāh = stag
39. karkadan P. kerkedan/karkaddan = a female rhinoceros cf. Skt khadgadhenu/khargadhenuka



40. gomûz/gawâz P. gûzen/gûzenah = stag, deer, doe, cf. Phl. gavâzan
= a mountain-ox
41. goñj P. munj/zambûr = bee
42. hazâr-pâ P. hazâr-pâ, sad-pâ = centipede
43. bâk P. wazag of phl. vazag = leaf
44. zâlî P. zâlâi/zelâ = leech
45. lâla/ambalû P. buzmajâ = lizard
46. kēk P. kaik = louse (clothes—)
47. shēpash P. shipish/shupāsh = louse (hair)
48. reqq-P. reqq/raqq = tortoise
49. karzalong P. kharchang = turtle/crab
50. hūbara P. hōbara = bustard
51. dāl P. dāl = eagle cf Phl. dālman
52. bangasht P. guñjeshk = sparrow
53. parastû/
parastûk P. parastû/parastûg piristûk = swallow
54. pasî P. pasîn = evening
55. challâ/chellâ P. chahlak = period of forty days
56. dīshka/dīnya P. dīna = yesterday
57. jab P. jaw = barley
58. bāgālā P. bāqilā = butter-bean
59. lūbyā P. lūbā/lūbyā = haricot
60. māsh P. māsh = lentil
61. kūr-kūr P. kūr = green peas.
62. bābīna P. bābūna = camomile
63. dabbā P. dabbā-e-buzorg = cedrat/cedrate
64. ghūra P. ghūre/rūre = unripe grapes or dates
65. kesh mesh P. keshmesh = grapes
66. mawiz P. mawiz = dried grapes/raisins
67. bālang P. bādrang = an orange cf. Phl. uātrang
68. hendūna/
hendauāna P. shamām = water-melon, a small water-melon.
69. nūmbūl nīmūl P. nimbal = orange, sweet & very juicy.
70. kanār P. kunār = jujube-tree, lote-tree, Phl. konar
71. balg P. barg = leaf
72. jeg P. jagh = poplar, the ebon tree
73. wahsh P. ēspēnd/ēspenj = wild rue
74. konjī P. kunjīd = sesame, Phl. kunjīt



75. dāri/dolī kerm P. angūzh = assafoetida
76. dārchīnī P. dārchīnī = cinnamon
77. kalap P. kalam = cabbage/cauliflower
78. zardak P. zardak/gazar = carrot
79. kishniz P. kishnīz/kishnish/kishnaz
= coriander cf. Phl. gušnič gnšniz
80. bhangūñ P. bādanjan/bādinjān = brinjal/egg-plant
81. goshniž P. kishniz/ghishnīz = fenel/coriander seed
82. sōzī P. sabzī torup = green
83. kōwī/kawī P. kāhū = lettuce
84. tarapcha P. torb/turb/turub = radish
85. espenāj/holbā P. shumīn = spinach
86. zardak P. zard-chūb = turmeric
87. shalgham P. shalgham = turnip
88. dombāl P. dombāl/dommāl = carbuncle
89. tapolarr P. tāb-e-larza = an ague
90. bawasīr P. bawāsīr = hemorrhoids
91. kachal P. kel = scurf- afflicted
92. pasham P. basham = an indisposition arising from indigestion.
93. chaspan > chaspīdan P. chaspīdan = to adhere to
94. bīsa-ā P. būda-ast = it has been
95. shekāflān P. shekāftan = to break
96. lōgōz khāndan P. lughz/lughuz = to carry on conversation
97. khardan P. khurdan = to eat
98. gadaghan kardan P. gadaghan kardan = to forbid
99. ashnūftan P. shanudan/shanīdan = to hear
100. makīdan P. makīdan/mazīdan = to lick/to suck
101. pūka zadan P. be sar zadan = to pat on the head.
102. tīmar kardan P. tīmār kardan = to scrub (a horse)
103. pandanīdan P. khīsīdan = to moisten
104. khāl kubīdan P. khel kardan = to tattoo
105. part kardan P. partaw kardan = to throw away
106. kūn P. kūn = anus
107. nōch P. nōk/nauk = bill of a bird
108. khīn P. khūn = blood
109. as/ast P. ast/ostakhān = bone
110. mok P. maghz/damgh = brain
111. nōk-e-pistūn P. sar-e-pistān = nipple of the breast



112. rī P. rū = face
113. tīk P. peshāhī = forehead
114. pasta-e-pā P. pāshīna/pāshnā = heel
115. somba P. sumb/sum = hoof
116. kachah P. chāna = jaw-bone
117. kos P. kos/kus = pudendum muliebre
118. dandūn P. dandān = tooth
119. ghobar/tūz/tūs P. gerd-e-khāk = dust/dust storm
120. kamarka/kamarke P. āwāz-e-bāzgasht = echo
121. kerr P. khīr/khīrā = fog
122. tagar P. tagarg + zāla/zhāla = hail
123. kerr/karr P. khīr/khire = mist
124. āstārc/āsāre P. setāra = star
125. balla P. dastkash = glove
126. chogā P. chōkhā/chokha = tunic
127. rīband P. rūband = veil
128. arūsak P. arūsek = doll
129. qomar P. qimar = gambling
130. gargarak P. bādfar/farfar = top
131. kor P. kurra = boy, (the colt of a horse camel or ass).
132. bachūn P. bachagān = children
133. būa P. pedar, kākā = father
134. mār/mor P. mādar = mother
135. khish P. kh(w)īshāvand = brethren/friends.
136. kaimāk P. charbā = clotted cream
137. dolmā P. dolmā = a dish prepared with rice raisins, grams, plums, and meat balls.
138. māye P. māya = ferment/leaven
139. tusha P. tughā/tūshā wa gūshe = provisions for journey
= food and lodging
140. konjī P. kunjūd/konjīd = sesame
141. dasīne P. dastīna = any female ornament for the wrist
142. haekā P. angushtar = finger ring
143. mil P. mil = needle for hair or clothes
144. langari P. langari = basin, a kind of drinking glass
145. lagan P. lakan = bowl/basin
146. āb khīrī P. ābish khwar = ewer/drinking vessel
147. kamcha P. chamcha = spoon



148. teōlawak P. liela = tube
149. dīg P. dig = vase/pot/kettle
150. golabpāsh P. golābpash = vase for rose-water
151. dartū P. darwāza = entrance-door
152. parr P. par/parr = a wing/door-wing
153. tashgāh P. ātashgāh = hearth
154. chaft-riza P. riza/kulf = hinge and holt, padlock
kolf-riza
155. malāt P. milāt = mortar
156. kulāh P. kulāh-farangī = shade made with a mat placed on
four poles.
157. komare P. kamar = sheep-fold.
158. dālīz P. dālīz = vault
159. fashang P. galūla/gōl/gōla = bullet, a masket bar
160. āsā P. chub-e-dasta sar-dast = walking stick
161. sorb P. sorb = lead
162. tisha P. tisha = axe/blade
163. gāz P. gāz = chisel
164. kalam P. kalam = engraving tool/a reed pen
165. sohn P. sūhan = file
166. chakosh P. chekish/chekej = hammer
167. pek P. pūk = sledge-hammer
168. putle P. putle = smith's hammer
169. kalang P. kulung/kelend = pick-axe
170. bīl P. bil = shovel
171. pābil P. chub-e-pā = the wood for placing the foot on.
172. sekāmlī P. sandalī = throne/chair, bench, seat.
173. khime P. hime = fire-wood/wood
174. tūr P. tūr/tur = a net/a fishingnet/metal-gaux
175. ōsio P. āsyāb = water-mill
176. javan P. javan = big wooden mortar
177. bar-havan P. bar hāvan = pestle
178. parre osia P. parr = sweep of a water mill
179. ger ger P. ghar ghar = toothed wheel
180. gūshmāhi P. gush meahi = shell
181. chashm-e- shūr P. chashm = amulet
182. waqā P. rāzyana = anise
183. gap P. gab = chief



184. dandān-wanī P. dandānbandī = dove-cotting
 185. kombol P. tambol = dwarf
 186. kharra P. khara = earth infiltrated
 187. durūi P. durūghi = falsehood/lie
 188. kot-kot P. kotāh kotāh = fragments
 189. jargah P. jarg/jargāh = a circle, ring, gang
 190. silāh/silā P. sulerh/surākh = hole
 191. mel P. mail = inclination
 192. mā'il P. mā'il = inclined
 193. zāl P. zāl = an old man a woman
 194. montarkār P. molārkār = a motor car
 195. lūna P. lāna = nest
 196. daiyūs P. daiyūth = pimp, a contented cuckold
 197. darra P. darah = a pass between two mountains ravine
 198. kerk/kāb -. kāb = rib, the bottom or base of a cup.
 199. wāj P. rig-rig = sand
 200. rēmāhan P. rim-e-āhan = scorry
 201. chapar P. chapar = a palisade, a wooden hut
 202. bélesk P. bidest = span
 203. āmach P. āmāj = target
 204. doz P. duzd/ dozd = thief
 205. dakhma P. dakhm/dakhma = a tomb
 206. czmūt P. azmāyash = trial
 207. rosi P. rāsti = truth
 208. shosh/shash P. shāsha = urine
 209. shoftashūr P. shoshta shūi = washing/morning-toilet
 210. bezoar P. pāzahr, pādzahr = antidote; against poison.
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LONGNAMES OF THE IRANIAN SUB-FAMILY

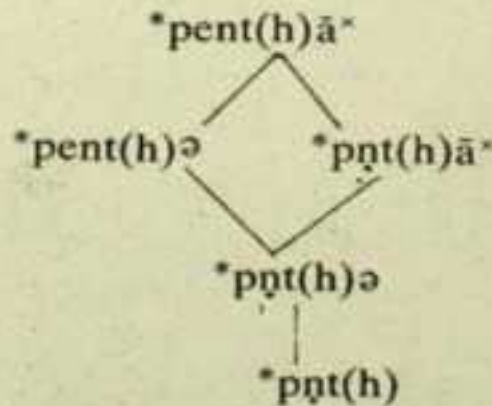
West Iranian speech		North Iranian speeches		East Iranian Speeches		
(a)	Medic (North-Western)	(c) Central Dialects of Persia	(e) 1. Kurdish Dialects Western or Kurmānījī Diarbakir Mardin Saett Gulanerck 2. Eastern Sulaymāniah Senna 3. Southern Kirmanshāhī Bakhtiyārī Lauri or Lurei Dizfuli	Sogdian of Central Asia	(h) Old Khotanese East Turkistan	Baloch
	Avestan Gāthic & younger Avestan	(d) Caspian Dialects, Māzandarānī Serrmānī Gilaki (Rāšt) Tāt (Baku) Tālir		(g) Sarmatian Scythian Dialects of Russia	Saka languages Gālcāior Pamir Dialects	Makran Eastern Balochi
	Pahlavi	Kāšānī dialects of Naym, Sirāz Sivend, Gābri, Kirmānī, Niyānī, Sivendi, Gābri (Dārī)		Ossetisch West of Vladikavkaz 1. Eastern or Tagauric with a sub-dialect Thalic (Alloghurs, Kurtats Tagaurs) 2. Western or Digoric with a sub-dialect Mozdok	Waxi Iskāsini Sighri, kughni Rosini (along with River Pay Trib. of River Amu) Sargoli (east of the Pamir) Sanglier Mikjam, Munjānī (North of Hindukush) Yata (South of Hindukash) Yadteghā	
(b)	Persic South-Western					
	Old Persian or Ancient Persian					
	Middle Persian					
	Southern Pahlavi (Sassanian)	Northern Pahlavi				
	Zoroastrian Texts	Manichaean Texts				
	Huzarish Pazend Parsi	Parthian Languages of the Sassanians Inscriptions				



Declension of Old Indo-Aryan *Pathin*

Mrinal Kanti Nath

The declension for the word “path, way”—**pathin** according to Sanskrit grammarians—is generally taken as declining with a variety of stems, called heteroclisis. In the above-mentioned paradigm the stems employed are the following: **panthā-**, **pathi-**, (**patha-**), **path-** **panthān-**. As the paradigm shows such a variety of forms, the scholars have called the declension as heteroclitical or suppletive one (see Brugmann 1893 : 479 ; Thumb 1905 ; Wackernagel 1930 : 301). However, a closer scrutiny and analysis from the Indo-European proto-form based on the evidences of the cognate languages lead one to an altogether different conclusion. The cognates available for the word for “path, way” are as follows : OIA **panthā**, Greek **pontos**, **potos**, Latin **pons**, **pontis**, Gothic **finþan**, Old English **fīndan**, Old High German **funs** etc. On the basis of these cognates one can reconstruct the proto-form as a dissyllabic heavy base : I.E. ***pent(h)ā***. The word is found with vowel gradation in both the syllables and the vowel gradational tree may be drawn like this :



From these vowel gradational forms, only IE ***pent(h)ə** and ***pnt(h)ā*** have no reflexes in OIA, but other IE forms are directly inherited in OIA, e.g. IE ***pent(h)ā** : OIA **panthā-** ; IE ***pnt(h)ə** : OIA **pathi-** ; IE ***pnt(h)** : OIA **path**. These forms explain the following OIA declensional forms : Nominative singular **panthā-s** (cf. Avestan **panthā**) ; Instrumental plural **pathi-bhis** (cf. Avestan **padā-biš**), dative-ablative plural **pathi-bhyām** ; Instrumental singular **pathā** (cf. Avestan **paθa**), genitive singular **path-as**, dative singular **path-e**. In the declensional system of the Sanskrit language the form **patha** does not occur, but

its existence may be inferred from the compounds such as **pathe-sthā**, a locative singular form.

The form next remains is **panthān-**. This is found in nominative (dual and plural), accusative (singular and plural) and genitive (singular and plural). This form is simply an example of congeneric analogy of the synonymous word **adhvan** (see Bartholomae 1904 : 118 ; Brugmann 1893 : 479; Wackernagel. The stem **panthān** arose out like this : **adhvānam** : **panthānam** ; **adhvānas** : **panthānas**. So the stem **panthān** may be attributed to analogical levelling.

From the above analysis it is seen that the declensional paradigm for **pathin** in OIA though apparently declining with a variety of stems, is nothing but the resultant of ablaut gradation. These forms come from a single IE proto-form ***pent(h)ā***. Hence, the declension for the word "path, way" cannot be an example of heteroclisis or suppletion as it employs the same stem with different ablaut grades of the same I.E. proto-form.

One peculiar thing that should be mentioned here that the nature of ablaut gradation of the declension of **pathin**. In comparison to other types of declension, it is irregular in some respects, and hence this declension pattern offers no parallel in the paradigmatic classes of Old Indo-Aryan and it in itself stands as a type. Moreover, the form **pathin** of Sanskrit grammararians is totally absent in this declension.

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Relative Chronology Of Indo-European Vocabulary

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The fact that Indo-European (hereafter IE) is a reconstructed language makes certain enquiries about the language somewhat illusory. If—as was pointed out by Meillet years ago in his monograph¹ on IE. dialects—we had sufficiently archaic data for all the individual dialects our understanding of the dialectal situation of the proto-speech would have been far better than it is now. This would have also shed light on the problem hinted at the title of the present paper. The illusiveness referred to above is perhaps most evident when any attempt is made to establish the relative chronology of vocabulary of the Ur-Sprache.

It is possible to say fairly accurately the date of appearance of words like *handbook* (O.E. *handbōc*) or *gospel* (O.E. *gōdspel*) in English. But if we are confronted with the question : When did the word **pātēr* appear in IE. we do not have any authentic answer. Or, if it is asked : did the pairs such as **pātēr* : **attas* or **peHur* : **e/ognis* exist simultaneously in the language—what will be the answer ?

It is true that in a few cases a tentative relative chronology of the words can be adduced. I have discussed the first pair **pātēr* : **attas* elsewhere. On the second pair i.e. **peHur* : **e/ognis* certain observations can be made along the line suggested by Meillet and Ernout². Meillet and Ernout label **e/ognis* as a *mot de caractère religieux*. If the *sprachgefühl* of the authors is not to be spurned the other word for 'fire' (i.e., **peHur*) is connected with the activity of daily life. So the pair may be taken to represent an opposition between 'sacrificial fire' and 'culinary fire' or 'fire used in other mundane activity'. This subtle difference in meaning assumes a highly developed poetic diction, which in its turn would presume a cultural state of pretty high order attained by the speech community. Thus it can be suggested that **e/ognis* might have been a need-filling creation necessitated by the religio-cultural upliftment of the Indo-European society. Since no "hard" or "concrete" facts can be cited in favour of the proposed view the whole idea can be dismissed

as extremely fortuitous. But in my opinion a proposed explanation can be replaced only when a more logical explanation of the facts is found. Otherwise the suggested one should not be rejected summarily on subjective consideration.

IE. is reconstructed on "comparison." Can we not apply the same method in dating the vocabulary of the proto-speech? In my opinion the most archaic component of the IE vocabulary, on the basis of attestation, can be identified.

Mycenaean Greek and Hittite offer the most archaic specimens within the entire IE. language family. Mycenaean documents date from 1450 B. C. Hittite documents—even if the claim that Anittas tablet is dated 1800 B. C.² is rejected—are older than the Linear B tablets. Under the circumstances pairing of Mycenaean and Hittite words should give us the oldest attested IE. words. Here follows a list—certainly not exhaustive—of lexical items common to Mycenaean and Hittite. The Mycenaean words are cited from the word list of the second edition of Ventris and Chadwick. Where the etymology of the word in either language is doubtful the form is prefixed with an asterisk. In case the equation has already been suggested the form is marked with a plus sign.

Mycenaean

a-ku-ro /arguro-/ 'silver'
a-ka-ra-no /a(<η>-karāno-s/ 'headless'
***di-wi-jo** /diwijo-/ 'divine ?'
 (<diwjo-> Diwas)³
 + **e-e-si** /chensi/ 'they are'⁴
Ka-ra-to /kalatho-/ 'basket'
me-ri /meli-/ 'honey'
me-ki-ta /megista/ 'of the largest size'
ne-wo /newo-/ 'new, young'

pa-ke-we /pakhewes/ 'thick'
pu-ka-wo /pur-(kawot)/ 'firekindler'
***g-e-ra-jo** /K⁵-hēraio-/ (<ethnic of
thēr < *ghwēr-⁶
re-u-ko /leuko-/ 'white'
u-do /hudor/ 'water'
sa-pa /sarpa/ 'textile'

Hittite

harki- 'bright'
***haršan-** 'head'⁴

Šius 'god'
asanzi 'ibid'
 + **kaluti** 'circle'
milit 'ibid'
mekki- 'much'
newit (inst. of *newa-)
 'new, fresh'
pankus 'whole, entire'
pahhur 'fire'

kwera- 'field'
lukk- 'to shine'
water 'ibid.'
¹⁰⁰ **sarpas** 'hide'

Notes and Bibliography :

1. Meillet, Antoine *The Indo-European Dialects* (English translation by Samuel N. Rosenberg). University of Alabama Press, Alabama, 1967 p. 12.
2. Meillet, A & Ernout, A : *Dictionnaire Etymologique de la langue Latine*, C. Klincksieck, Press, 1959 pp. 307-8.
3. Kronasser, H : *Vergleichende Laut-und Formenlehre des Hethitischen*, C. Winter, Heidelberg, 1956. "Seine and des Vaters Taten (um 1800) sind auf der sog. *Anitta-Tafel*, dem ältesten bisher bekannten Text in einer indogermanischen Sprache, verewigt." (p. 1).
4. Kronasser *op. cit* § 105, p. 85.
5. Ventris, M & Chadwick, J : *Documents in Mycenaean Greek* Second edition, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1973. The word is labelled "obscure" in the glossary (p. 539, column II) despite Mühlestein's suggestion quoted (p. 190). See also Pokorny, J. *Indogermanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, p. 185.
6. Ventris & Chadwick *op. cit* glossary p. 542, column I.
7. Jaan Puhvel in '*Basket*' in *Greek and Hittite* (American Journal of Philology, 98. 1977) pointed out the similarity between Hittite *kaluti* and Greek *kalathos*'s (specially pages 150-151). Puhvel, however, does not refer to the Mycenaean form. But the Mycenaean *kalatho-* and *kalathos*'s identity is considered "possible" by Ventris & Chadwick (glossary, p. 551, column I).
8. Double writing of *k* in **mekki**-points an unvoiced stop.
9. Pokorny, J. : *Indogermanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Francke, Bern und München, 1959 ff. * *gh^her* is glossed "wildes Tier" (p. 493).